

Kashmir Under the Shadow of Gun
Alternatives: Making of Al Fatah
(A Case Study)

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(A Case Study)
Rao Farman Ali Malik**

Printed in India

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Kashmir Under the Shadow of Gun

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***This book is dedicated to
Journalists:—***

Nand Lal Watal and Kh. Sana Ullah Bhat, who showed highest degree of professionalism by upholding truth before special court, setup for Al' Fatah detenues.

For—

***Muhammad Yameen , Muhammad Muntasir, Muhammad Imaad Shayaan,
Muhammad Zaid, Muhammad Sai`d—and to the younger generation in general and to
descendants in particular for not becoming heir to anecdote of legacy, rather create
your own history !***

Preface

“ Peace is a conscious, deliberate and legitimate process to end mistrust or cessation of hostilities for ensuring positive, dynamic and pragmatic approach—to encourage meaningful and result oriented dialogue for resolution of the conflict in the spirit of mutual understanding with the element of cooperation. Peace is never a farsighted opportunism but purely a humanistic maxim, sometimes an involuntary action. With the future headlines from—violence increases— to—violence vanishes.”

Kashmir dispute is entangled in the definitions of sovereignty and the right to self-determination—in the wider sense Kashmir comprises several sub-regions, each with varying and different cultures. As a result Kashmir is to be understood in the broader perspective by the people of Jammu and Kashmir in general and by the world community in particular. The solution of this vexed issue should be tried in terms of choices not on the pedagogies, sought by two warring nations (India-Pakistan)—principal parties to the dispute but Kashmiris being the prime party rather sine qua non towards the solution. Several resolutions have been passed in United Nations Security Council, which are the bedrocks for defining the disputed nature of Kashmir and it is India who took the matter to United Nations but naïve Kashmiris [people of Jammu and Kashmir]— had always been and are still the first causality to the oldest existing dispute in South Asia, which has pushed India and Pakistan to three conventional and similar number of non- conventional wars, including high altitude war of Kargil. Thus making UN Charter more applicable in Kashmir under Chapter I, Article 1, clause 2, 3 and 4 vis-à-vis tripartite talks. Otherwise solution to disputed Kashmir is just like a needle in the haystack or to bite a bullet.

India on 11th May 1998, Monday detonated three nuclear bombs[fusion type] at Pokhran[II], declaring itself as the nuclear capable State, which was treated as serious threat by its immediate neighbor [Pakistan].In response Pakistan on Thursday,28th May 1998 exploded five nuclear bombs[fission type] much powerful than India at Chagai [Baluchistan], thus commenced a new arms race in South Asia, posing a potential threat to Asia— the most densely inhabited and largest continent of world, covering 8.62% of total earth's surface and having 29.9% land—43,810,582 Sq. Kms— contributes 60% of the total world human population—4,82,77,64,370—by 2014 estimation. The unique feature of Asia is plurality of cultures, environments, historical ties and above all government systems—having 49 states (5 in disputed category).

My endeavour of writing this account is to bring to the fore, the circumstances which shoved Kashmiris to come with an extreme and home-grown resistance struggles as nonconformists for demanding Independence[common sentiment], now supported by majority. Henceforth, this book along with case study of Al' Fatah has been attempted in an isolated political or ideological propensity to maintain the neutrality. Kashmir has acted as a weighing machine for both India and Pakistan which has given its people the enough maturity to decide their future as the masters to its Destiny.

Of course, societies in Asia have rich cultural tradition of expressing unity by transcending the ego of creative growth through human solidarity and a harmony with nature. In bringing these aspects of their culture to bear in facing contemporary challenges, the people of Asia could bring a new consciousness and institutions to the global market mechanism. In doing so, definitely Asia can together take the 21st century world on to a new trajectory of sustainable development and above all human security, hence it can be the Asian century that can enrich human civilization. All epochs of economic and cultural achievements are associated with a critique of the received wisdom and rediscovery of a universal humanity that lies at root of specific ideological and religious traditions, can bring end to Palestine, Kashmir, Iraq and Afghanistan bedlams, which are the major stumbling blocks for the progress and prosperity of Asia at present—it Asia faces the prospect of a leadership role.

By 2020, the giant Asia could move to a higher level of economic development. As growth continues, however, it may become increasingly difficult to reach those, who remain excluded from its benefits. Disparities could widen within and between developed, developing and under- developed countries, along with mounting costs, could begin to threaten sustainability of their development. Yet, Asia cannot sustain by economic growth alone. Human life is threatened with the environmental crisis and conflict arising from culture of greed, from endemic poverty and egoistic Projections of military supremacy, most importantly some countries in Asian continent have entered into the rat race of voracity to take control over the resources by expressing power paradigm. Still some major problems are large in terms of Poverty, Malnutrition, poor access to Tertiary Education, HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis, Environmental and Water Management, as demand for Freshwater is soaring, the supply is becoming more uncertain, which is the biggest worry for Asian Countries. Presently, one out of six people—more than a billion—do not have adequate access to safe water. The United Nations projects that by 2025, half of the countries worldwide will face water stress and outright shortages, to end those serious issues togetherness is the only mode.

New opportunities have been created that if fully explored, could help in solving the problems of Asian countries, if supported and encouraged through the mode of Asian continental cooperation, which could help to sustain and accelerate economic development, end to trust deficit. Moreover the long-term strategic framework will open new paths for Asia to exercise its strength and potential, if all the political disputes in Asia are put to end by adopting a collective approach.

Water related problems are particularly acute in Asia.

Although Asia has Freshwater—3,920 cubic meters per person per year— than any continent other than Antarctica. Hence, a massive awareness for importance of water as a means of security at multiple levels in Asia is required. Governments in Asia should ensure that water management organizations have direct communication with defence agencies and develop integrated water management and conflict prevention capacities.

Similarly through the collective efforts of Asian countries will help to alleviate the health and unemployment related problems in the whole region and equal share of development to all.

Protecting forests and wildlife of Asia for our children's future will require bold and strategic conservation, efforts in every state of Asia and fortunately, a vision for conserving forests and wildlife now exists but still requires a massive pragmatic approach.

Therefore, Asia in dialogue is the only way forward to address all the problems in the region, and its leadership role can be guaranteed if all will collectively come up with the solutions of Kashmir, Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria— and other such like conflicts.

One has to look for a change in policy paradigm of nation states, from competition to cooperation, from production of weapons as the emblem of state power to nurturing of a new sensibility that can sustain life on Asian continent, especially in South Asian region, which has been engulfed by the disputes of Kashmir and Afghanistan. Kashmir, if again, is kept in limbo, can erupt like a sleeping volcano, which can engulf whole of South Asia, with its horrible countenances —destruction and disaster.

Nowadays, the market is being apotheosized as the mythical space in which the individual can be free and yet provided with plenty by hidden hand of market, thus affecting the very basic norm and doctrine of human society, inherent to capitalist accumulation process, is the systematic inculcation of an insatiable desire to possess goods. The subliminal language of advertisement does not represent goods but rather fantasizes them such that they appear to us not in terms of their material attributes but magical receptacles of such qualities as beauty efficiency and power, thus the qualities, which we actually possess as human being are transported into goods and the individual gets locked into an endless pursuit of acquisition, for that matter the best move to broaden the horizons of mental thinking and develop sensible approach. Thus borders have literally become irrelevant.

Now the citizenship concept of a particular state has changed —part of new world order— presently everyone is a global citizen— entrenched in mesh and marsh of neo-globalization and neo-liberalization, so we have to behave in accordance with the change, explore the traits, to exist as a nation on the map of the world but not at the expense of one's identity.

It is an admitted fact that stated positions do not offer any solution and to come with intellectual baggage to the dialogue proffers vent to inertia within the resistance movement. Thus Civil Society can play an active role in the resolution of any protracted conflict. Both India and Pakistan must come to the understanding for closing agency role in Jammu and Kashmir. And people of Jammu & Kashmir should be encouraged for peaceful co-existence, which is most important at this stage.

As a consequence, political leadership of Jammu and Kashmir should strive for new pursuits about the honourable, respectable and dignified solution of Kashmir which should not give its people a sense of defeat but somewhat it should address their sentiments, desires and above all the aspirations.

-- Rao Farman Ali Malik

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--Rao Farman Ali Malik

List of Abbreviations

@ Alias

A.D Anno Domini (In the year of Christ)

A.H Anno Hegirea (In the year Prophet Muhammad ^{SAW})

AJK Azad Jammu and Kashmir

AAC Awami Action Committee

Ang/Isl Anantnag/Islamabad.

B.C Before Christ

BSF Border Security Force

CFL Cease Fire Line

Chap Chapter/Chapters

CPIML Communist Party of India(Marxist) Lenin

DDC District Development Commissioner

Div. Division

Ed. Edited/Edition/Editor

FIR First Information Report
FIU Field Intelligence Unit of Pakistan
GRZ Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer
IAF Indian Air Force
INR Indian Rupee
ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence (Spy Agency of Pakistan)
IW Illustrated Weekly of India
Indo-Pak India and Pakistan
JeI Jamait-e Islami
J &K Jammu and Kashmir
JKLF Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front
JKPL Jammu Kashmir Peoples League
JKRB Jammu Kashmir Research Bi-annual
LAC Line of Actual Control
KGB Komitet Gosudartvennoi~ Bezopasnosti
[Spy Agency of Russia]
KMDA Kashmir Motor Drivers Association
LOC Line of Control
MeA Jammu Kashmir Mahaz-e-Azadi
MHA Ministry of Home Affairs Government
of India
ML Muslim League
MLA Member Legislative Assembly
MMA Muttahida Mahaz-e-Azadi
MYF Muslim Youth Federation
NC National Conference
NLF National Liberation Front
NYT New York Times
PAF Pakistan Air Force
Pak Pakistan
PAK Pakistan Administered Kashmir
P or p Page
PF Plebiscite Front
PP or pp Pages
PRF People's Revolutionary Front
Pt. Pandit
Pub. Publisher/Publication
RAW Research and Analysis Wing (Spy Agency of India)
RSD Right to Self-determination
RPC Ranbir Panel Code
SP Superintendent of Police/ Shri Pratab
SRTC State Road Transport Corporation
T.A.C Town Area Committee
Tr. Translator/Translated
UNMOGIP United Nations Military Observer

Group for India and Pakistan
UK United Kingdom
UN United Nations
Univ. University
US United States [America]
u/s Under Section
USA United States of America
USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
V or vol. Volume
V.P Various Pagination
YL Youth League
YML Young Men's League
WC Working Committee

Codes of Some Key Al' Fatah Members

1. Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer @Rehman @ Maqbool@ Gaznavi
@ GRZ
2. Fazal Haq Qureshi@Munshi@Faiz

3. Nazir Ahmad Wani@ Assad Ullah @Cook@Asad
4. Nissar Hussain Mir@ Nizam
5. Mohammad Saleem Gilkar@Safdar
6. Abdul Hai Baderwahi @Aslam
7. Kh. Mohammad Shaban Vakil@Ahad
8. Bashir Ahmad Bhat @BAB@BABY
9. Mohammad Syed Khan@Sajad
10. Ghulam Mohammad Naikoo@Zahoor
11. Mohammad Yousuf Mir@Tariq
12. Peer Mohammad Hussain@Ali
13. Gulzar Ahmad Khaki@ Professor Farooq

Introduction

Jammu and Kashmir is situated between $32^{\circ}15'$ to $37^{\circ}05'$ Latitude north and $72^{\circ}35'$ to $80^{\circ}20'$ Longitude East and is commonly known as Kashmir—the princely state of 1947. It is bounded by China in north and East, Afghanistan in north – west, Pakistan in west and in south by India and has complex physiographic divisions, consisting of—Poonch and Jammu, with two further subdivisions- Shivalik; Sub-Himalayan zone— Pir Panjal range—Valley of Kashmir; blessed with a fertile soil, glorious climate, grand mountains, fine rivers and lovely lakes— main Himalayan mass — Gilgit-Hunza.

Total area of Kashmir valley is 5000 Sq. Km., its mean level is about 5200 ft. above sea, it is essentially an intermontane valley fill basin. The range of mountains which surround it at every part, except the narrow gorge of the Jehleum at Baramulla, attain to the North-East and North-West [viewing from Jammu proper], a high general altitude, some peaks rising above 18000 ft. On the South-Western side, the bordering ridge, the Pir Panjal, is of comparatively lower altitude, its mean elevation being 14000 ft. In the North of One branch of Central Himalaya is known as the Zanaskar Range, terminating in the high twin peaks of Nun Kun (23440 feet); the other branches run due to west, as Dhauladhar range, extending further to the North -West of high picturesque range of Pir Panjal [viewing from Jammu proper]. There is close uniformity in physical features and geological constitution of the sub-Himalayan tract from Rawalpindi to Dehradun covered by Shivalik and Sirmur rock **systems**¹. Between the two branches, (Nun Kun and Dhauladhar) of crystalline axis of the Himalayas lies a longitudinal boat shaped valley with South-East to North- West trend[viewing from Jammu proper], about 140x140 Km in extent. The long diameter of the oval is parallel to the general strike of the ranges in this part of the Himalayas.

Kashmir Valley lies Nanga Parbat (26182 ft.), in the east rises (5152.03m), on the South is Mahadeo looking down Srinagar, the high range of Gwash Brari (17800 ft.). Further north is Tosmaidan (14000 ft.) and Bungus–Leepa [North] with Shamsa Bari Top 3986m. In the North-West rises the majestic Kajinag peak (12125 ft.), then Gangbal Top, besides others include, Niltok [south]. In south –east of Kashmir valley are the peaks like Margan Top 4470 m, Ssinthan Top 3748m and Inshan Top 3440m. And slight South are the peaks like Brari Baal Top 3223m and Dede Bul Top— somewhat higher than Jawahar tunnel peak. Slightly towards South-West of Kashmir Valley is the peak, Hounheng [approximately 4592m] situated in Kutmarg of Kulgam district., and Guriwattan 4572m in the same district. Similarly, slightly towards North-West is

¹) A.K Sharma, Early Man in Jammu Kashmir and Ladakh, Publisher; Agam Kala Prakashan Delhi, 2000, P. 05

Khelmanmarg peak of Gulmarg (10456 ft.) and Haji Pir (8631ft.) in Uri of Baramulla The outermost ranges of Kashmir Himalaya rises from the plains of the Punjab, commencing with a gentle slope from Jammu attaining to about 2000ft. altitude, and then end abruptly in steep, almost perpendicular escarpment inwards. The outer range of the sub-Himalayan zone, bounded by Ravi and the Chenab are known as Jammu hills. Range situated more inwards, and formed of older Tertiary rocks reach the higher altitude, about 6000 ft. to 8000 ft. In the whole region of Kashmir there are four larger mountain ranges—the Karakoram, the Ladakh, the main Himalaya or Zaskar, and the Pir Panjal. Between these ranges are longitudinal valleys of the Gilgit, the Shyok, the Indus and the Jhelum. South of Pir Panjal is the Siwalik range comparatively much lower in elevation [Jammu hills]; further South there is a narrow strip of foot-hill plains (300m., 25m. wide, merging in the Punjab plains. The tract lying between Chenab and Ravi is mostly ravine, locally called as Kandi. The Jammu hills too rise from the Punjab plains with a gentle slope. Attaining an altitude of about 600 m. Then follows a succession of narrow parallel ridges, trending north-west to South-East and separated by more or less broad strike valleys representing basins of subsequent streams. In these hills two type of duns are of Udhampur and Kotli. In outer hills are formed of younger –Tertiary rocks and elevation exceed 1200 m. The ranges situated more inwards and formed of older Tertiary rocks attain higher altitude ranging from 1800 m. to 2400 m. The Pir Panjal representing the middle Himalayan ranges consists of higher mountains. Its elevations vary from 3500 m. to 5000 m. It is characterized by deeply cut valleys and precipitous gorges. The ridges extending in irregular directions appear to branch again and again. The Pir Panjal trends N.W-S.E and continues beyond the region into Dhauladhar of Himachal. The ridges exhibit steep escarpments towards the plains in contrast to a rather long gentle slope towards the Valley of Kashmir. The mountains have a typical orthoclinal structure. The ranges are composed of highly compressed and altered rocks of different geological periods, from the Purana and Carboniferous to Eocene. The axial zone is composed of the Permo-Carboniferous rocks.

The Pir Panjal is considered as the front of the great Kashmir nappe. As many as twelve peaks exceed 3500 m. in elevation. There are three mountain passes across the Pir Panjal— Pir Panjal pass(3494 m.), Bundil Pass (4200 m.) and Banihal Pass(2832 m.). The Valley of Kashmir lies between the Pir Panjal and the Himadri. This structural basin representing an old bed measuring 135 Km. in length with a maximum width of 40 Km. its floor stands 1600 m. above sea level in the Jhelum flood plain. It covers an area of about 4865 Sq. Km. The Jhelum flows close to the northern side of Kashmir valley. Flat topped terrace-like features have developed in the morainic deposits of the Pleistocene glaciations, the Karewas, which are better developed in the Southern section of the Valley. The Jhelum has greatly eroded the Karewas at places leading to the formation of great bluffs and terraces up to 140 m. high. It is accessible from the Punjab plains through two famous passes, the Pir Panjal and Banihal Pass. North of Kashmir Valley are situated the great Himalayan ranges including the well-known Zaskar Range which is bounded almost on the North by the deep gorge of the Indus. The axial position of this great Himalayan range represents the famous geanticline of the Himalayan geosyncline. It is in this sub-region of Kashmir that the core consisting of the Archaean complex crops out. At its Western end, near the Indus bend, stands the

mighty Nanga Parbat attaining an elevation of 8126 m. in its highest peak. In this great Himalayan Range as many as thirteen peaks exceed 6000 m. in elevation. A still large number of peaks range from 4500m. to 6000m.. On the north-west slopes of Nanga Parbat, glaciers appear in great numbers and of large dimensions. The Diamir descends to a level of 2800 m. above sea near the village of Tarsing. The traverse gorges of streams, dissecting the slopes of the huge mountain ranges serve as main transportation lines, usually suitable for pedestrians and pack animals. Some of the important passes in the great Himalayan ranges are Zoji La (3529m.), Chilung La (4401m.), Uma-si La (5294m.), Sersank pass (5716m.), Poat La (5716m.), Singo La (5097 m.), Bara Lacha La (4891m.), Kanzam La (4551 m.), Rohtang La (4631 m.) Fotu La (4094 m.), Ruberrung La (6401m.), Sir Sur La (9499m.), Burji La (4816 m.) and Lanak La (4964 m.). Some of the other notable passes are- Kunji La, Singi La, Polokongka La, Kisgan La, Thit La, Salsai La, Photi La, and Boizardin La. The hot springs situated 4500m. above sea level, quite close to Puga, about 11 Km North of the Kiagar Tso in Rupshu is worth mentioning—Kangri and Satok peaks. The Eastern section of the Zaskar Range in Rupshu consists of intricately ramifying glaciated ranges of crystalline rocks. These ranges are intersected by high glaciated valleys with restricted drainage into a few saline lakes and marshes.

The Hazara Range is a Sindhu Par (Trans-Indus) continuation of the Himadri in the almost North-West of Kashmir Valley beyond the Indus gorge around Nanga Parbat. There are as many as 17 peaks ranging in elevation from 4500 to 6000m. Dadrili, Saghichi, Baregah and Kinejut are the important passes across the range and its main offshoots.

The Ladakh Range is situated between the Indus and Shyok rivers. It forms a prominent range in the Trans Himalayan region. It stretches from Shyok-Indus confluence up to the western border of Tibet where the Indus bends sharply and cuts through it separating it from the Zaskar Range in Rupshu. It is rather a straight range with N.W-S.E trend [viewing from Jammu proper], which is typically concordant with the general trend of the Himadri and is about 350 Km. long and 50 Km. wide. The crest of this wall-like range is almost even, somewhat planated during the past glaciations. It is mainly composed of crystalline rocks. The stream draining its flanks have cut very deep valleys and present a typical parallel pattern, probably owing to the steep slopes. In all nine peaks exceed 6000m. in elevation, whereas 15 peaks range between 500 and 6000m. in height. Chorbat (5090 m.), Digar La (5400m.), Charring La (602m.), Chang La (5599m.) and Tsaka La (4720m.) are the important passes across the range.

The Karakoram range, extending from the Hunza in the north- west [viewing from Amritsar-Lahore (Punjab)] to the Shyok in the East for a total distance of more than 400 Km. may aptly be called the shining crest of the earth. Almost the entire crest line is covered with perpetual snow with a number of giant glaciers slowly crawling down. Its highest peak K2 Mt. Godwin Austen (8611m.), is the second highest peak of the world. The mountain is mainly composed of unclassified crystalline complexes, flanked by Palaeozoic and Mesozoic sedimentary. These old sedimentary rock crop out most extensively in the Baltistan region.

Fossiliferous permo-carboniferous strata, mainly lime stones are found extensively in Karakoram range. The mountains of Gasherbrum, the Golden Throne, and the crystal

and Brid Peaks are built of these lime stones. Permian limestone crest is also found in the Shakshum valley. Crystalline limestone layer is found in the Tirich valley of Chitral. From the Karakoram range five important offshoots, branching out at acute angles from the main range, extend southeastwards towards the Indus valley. The Batura Mustagh between the Gilghit and Hunza, the Haramosh Range between the Hunza and Shigar, the Saltoro range between Nubra and lower Shyok and the Sasermuztag between the Nubra and the upper Shyok.

The Masherbrum Range extends west-ward between the Braldu and the Saltoro **rivers**²

The important peaks of the Karakoram are broad peak (8056 m.) Godwin Austen (8611 m.), Muztag Tower (7259 m.), Gasherbrum I (above 8068m.), Gasherbrum II (8068 m.), Masherbrum (7821m), Rakaposhi (7788m.), Disteghil Sar (7885m.), Trivor (7788m.), Kanju Sar (7790m) and Saltoro Kangri (7742m), Ghil Sar and Darkot (both approximately 7000m). Many large glaciers emerge from the southern face of the Karakoram. The Hispur and Batura glaciers [58 to 61 Km long, discharge into the Indus]. The Biafo and Baltoro glaciers, about 60 Km long, discharge in the Shigar, a tributary of the Indus. The Siachen glacier [72 Km long], fall into Nubra. The Chogolungma and Rimo glaciers discharge into Shigar and the upper Shyok respectively. The thickness of ice -stream in the Karakoram glaciers varies from 120m. to 300 m and Harmukh, Brahma, Suknai, Tajwas and other glaciers of Kashmir valley, form giant ice-streams are the survivors of the last Ice Age. The important mountain passes of the Karakoram are Hispar Pass (5352m.), Muztag Pass (5700 m.), Sia La, Bilatond La, Marpo La (5611m.), Saser La (5300m.) and the Karakoram Pass (5575m.). The Aksai- Chin region, situated in the North-Eastern portion of Kashmir valley, even east of the Shyok also, represents a much denuded peneplained surface of an intermontane plateau. It is also known as the Lingtze Tang Plains. The surface is well over 4500 m. above the sea level with isolated relict uplands rising to elevation of over 6000m. Crystalline rocks of Archaean age are no doubt extensively exposed on its surface, but it also preserves the sedimentary layers of Paleozoic and Mesozoic periods in large pockets. A number of salt-lakes of various sizes appear dotting the whole terrain and salinity is continuously increasing as they have no outlet, like Amtogor Lake and several high altitude peaks like Tragger (6130m). Climate of Kashmir differs from province to province, from Alpine (Ladakh) to the sub-tropical (Jammu)are the extreme variants of climate while as valley of Kashmir owing to its location and topography. Leh is coldest -23.3°C [winter], while as Jammu hottest above + 46°C [summer]. Srinagar has also recorded as low as -20°C [winter] and as high as 38.3 °C [summer] but temperature of Kashmir valley is generally moderate. Western disturbances are more active than the monsoon currents throughout the region. The average rainfall is about 65cm, with variations ranging from 5cm in Gilghit to 8cm in Ladakh, 17.5cm in Skardu-Deosai, 67.5cm in Kashmir valley and 115cm in Jammu. Most significant features of westerlies is the snowfall which is partly influenced by altitude as well. It ranges between 20-30cm at Srinagar and 80-90cm at Sonamarg. It is also heavy on the Pir Panjal ranges. Majority of lakes in Kashmir region are of glacial origin. In the trans-Himalayan region the important lakes are Pongong Tso and Salt-lakes of Lingtzi Tang. In the east Zanaskar region, they are Tso Morari, Chushul lake, Kyum Tso, Kiazar Tso,

²) ibid

Startsapuk Tso and Kar Tso and in North- East of Zanaskar region (Gilghit-Baltistan), a Lake near Bubur.

In Kashmir Valley, Dal, Manasbal and the Wular[Asia's Biggest] lakes are of fresh water origin. Other lakes in valley are Anchar, Bod and Locut, these are of mostly riverine origin and are remnants of old abandoned beds or Ox-bow lakes. There are numerous small, medium and large perennial lagoons on hilltops of Kashmir, like, Sheeshnag, Alpaher Lake of Gulmarg, Marsar, Tarsar, Nagputin, Chohurnag, Kousarnag, Dudpathri, Huksar, Dudsar, Sunsar, Krishensar, Bishensar, Dadsar, Tamulsar, Tulyan, Harbagwan and Arshan. Similarly small water bodies on hilltops like Khelnag and Kaijnag also exist. And Verinag spring—the tributary of river Jhleum—gushes from the foothill of Pir Panjal.

Two small lakes, Surum and Mansur, lie at the crest of an eroded anticline in the sub-Himalayan region of Jammu and Mangla lake in Mirpur of Azad Kashmir (Now, with Mangla Dam) Kashmir has also minerals deposits underneath which include— Coal (Jangalgali, Chinkali, Chakar, Mahogala and Kalakot in Jammu, Vailoo in Kashmir), Lignite (Niachahom- Chowkibal, Verinag, Qazigund, Odur, Raithan-Lanyalaf, Bundwara, Tangmarg, Baramulla of Kashmir valley) Limestone 'quarries' (Manasbal, Khunmuh-Khrew, Achabal [now abandoned] in Kashmir and Basoli in Jammu), Sulphur (Anantnag 'Springs' Sadarkot, Wuyan and in Pugga valley of Ladakh), Gypsum (Baramulla in Kashmir, Doda and Udhampur in Jammu), Borax (Pugga valley of Ladakh from the hot springs), Bauxite (Reasi and Pooch in Jammu), Lead (Kistwar in Jammu and Uri in Kashmir), Zinc (Reasi in Jammu) Silver (Baderwah, Kistwar in Jammu), Copper (Lastiyal, Sumbal, Ashmuqam in Kashmir and Zanaskar in Ladakh), Iron [very low in quantity] (Khandli and Mata in Jammu), Gold (Alluvial) [terraces] in the Indus strip, Marble (Kupwara, Kashmir) and Precious stones 'garnet, ruby and sapphire' (Padder [Kistwar] in Jammu).

There are many legends, historical evidences and geological observations with regard to the name of Kashmir. Classical books of Indian literature like Astadhyaya of Mahabharata, the Puranas and the Brhat Samhita make their references to Kashmir as a country and to Kashmiri as its people. Kashmir region is the home of various races. People of Kashmir in historical times, did not form a single homogenous group. There had been admixture of different races and communities. Kashmir was subjected to several foreign invasions from North and North-West, from very early times.

Kashmir named as *Kashyap-Mar* or *Kashyap-Pura* and also implies a land desiccated from water: "ka" (the water) and *Shimeera* (to desiccate). The ancient Greeks called it "*Kasperia*" and the Chinese pilgrim Hien-Tsang, who visited the valley in 7th century [631 A.D] called it as **KaShi-Mi-Lo** ³

Next Chinese notice is found in the annals of Tsang dynasty which mentions the arrivals of an embassy in the Chinese court from Kashmir king Tchen-to-lo-pi-li shortly after 713 AD and in 759 AD another Chinese pilgrim Ou-kong visited Kashmir, spent four years in the country studying Sanskrit. Marco Polo, in the middle of the 13th century A.D mentions Kashmir as a province inhabited by the people who were idolaters and had a language of their own. People of Kashmir have shortened it into "Kasheer" in the

³) Rao Farman Ali, Jammu Kashmir: Resolution Through Reconciliation for Peace and Dignity, Publisher: Sabzaar Communications, Anantnag, 2010, p. 01

language of natives. As regards to the explanation of this name, a Semitic tribe, who founded the cities of Kash, Kashan and Kashghar, is said to have migrated from Syria and settled in Kashmir. Some are of the opinion that this group of people were descendents of Prophet Noah. They looked this part of land like their native land Syria and called it ['Kash'—'mir'] which semantically means a country like Syria⁴ —although strongly contested by Prof. G. M Shad—a renowned historian—having strong reservations, saying then what about Paamir ['Paa'—'mir'], Kashmor, Diamir ['Dia'—'mir'], Ajmir ['Aj'—'mir'] or Jaisalmir ['Jaisal'—'mir']....[sic], but supports Lawrence, Burnier, Younghusband and other European scholars who refer Kashmir in their respective books.

There are number of beliefs and myths about the origin of Kashmiri people. Most anthropologists agree on this point that the Nagas were the first settlers in Kashmir especially valley. The wide prevalence of Naga—worships before and even after the Buddhist period indicates the settlement of those people⁵. The primitive culture of Kashmir is attributed to Nagas. Some of the traditions and customs of Nag culture are still ubiquitous in Pandit(Hindu) families⁶. Kashmiri Pandith women used to wear serpent—shaped scarves over their heads called **Kasaba**⁷ [a ribbon rolled around forehead and tail of the scarf cloth moving down from neck side till to the lumber region of back in a twirled manner like a snake, different than the Muslim women, underneath both used to cover their heads by a special cap called Kulposh]. The famous Kashmiri romantic story Himaal Naegraey [Hima:l Na:gra:y] is the reminiscence of the Nag culture. However ,the origin of the Nagas is yet to be known. Researchers and scholars differ on whether they were Nagroid, Austric or **Dravadians**⁸.

Kashmir is the only region in the subcontinent which has a continuous recorded history and dates back to 4000 B.C. Twenty-one dynasties of Hindus, Buddhists, Kushans, Huns, Shahmeers—Chaks [Sultanates], Mughals, Pathans, Sikhs and Dogras had ruled Kashmir, historically it was regarded as one of the major centre of Sanskrit scholarship, during the epic period with a `Republican System` of government from the capital city of Raiz-e-veer shortened to *Rajapura*, and has been identified with modern **Rajauri**⁹.

⁴) Aziz Kashmiri, Christ in Kashmir, Publisher, Roshni Publications, 1973, Srinagar, p. 03

⁵) . G.MD Sofi, Kasheer Vol. I, Publisher: Punjab University Publication (Reprinted 1974, Light and Life Publication, New Delhi, p. 11

⁶) Prof. Mohi-ud-Din Hajni, Outline of the Culture of Kashmir, article, 1975

⁷) Naji Munawar and Shafi Shauq, K Kosher-i- Adbuk Tawari:fh, Publisher: University of Kashmir, Srinagar, 1992, p.12

⁸) Dr. Mohammad Aslam, Sources of Loan — words in Kashmiri: A diachronic study, (Tr.), Publisher: Book Media, Srinagar, 1996, p.03

⁹) Rao Farman Ali, Jammu Kashmir: Resolution Through Reconciliation for Peace and Dignity, Publisher:

Chapter 2

Conflict of Kashmir

Kashmir is generally used to denote the borders of the princely state of Kashmir which, since the partition of the Indian subcontinent, now spans three countries, India, Pakistan and China. Kashmir as a greater term comprises of several sub-regions, each with varying and different cultures. On 16th March, 1846, when the British defeated Sikhs and sold Kashmir to Maharaja Ranjit Singh's feudatory chief named Gulab Singh, the ruler of Jammu, given an employment through an infamous deal called Treaty of Amritsar. After his death, he was succeeded by Ranbir Singh in 1857, Pratap Singh in 1885, and Hari Singh in 1925¹.

The innumerable factors are responsible for the emergence of Kashmir conflict, while seeking opinion of a Kashmiri, Indian or a Pakistani, they share different opinions even about the genesis of conflict. The Kashmir conflict soon turned into a struggle for strategic superiority. The Kashmir dispute is entangled in the definitions of sovereignty and the right to self-determination- the viability of using military force to resolve border disputes, especially those embedded in the Kashmir conflict. These factors point to the need for evolving new approaches to deal with this problem: Kashmir gives a description of the two sides of the LOC – the Indian administered Jammu and Kashmir having an area of 1,00,006.2 Sq. Kms and the Pakistan administered Jammu and Kashmir[Azad Kashmir, including Gilghit and Baltistan] having an area of 84,000 Sq. Kms, 44,447.2Sq. Kms are in the possession of China including 8,000 Sq. Kms of Shakshum valley ceded in 1963 also in 1978, the Karakoram Highway opened from Pakistan to Sinkiang as a part of strategic relations, while as Kashmir Valley, which is administered by India, is about 80 miles long and 35 miles wide (135 x 40 Kms).

The Kashmir conflict refers to the political dispute over Kashmir, the major portion of northwestern region of the subcontinent. The parties to the dispute are India, Pakistan, People of Jammu Kashmir and even China [if broader contours are taken into consideration].

Earlier in June 1947, Poonch disputes assumed a low profile militant and separatist character. The Maharaja's armed forces responded with tremendous brutality. Thus Kashmir dispute dates back to the partition of British India when two Independent states of India and Pakistan emerged as separate dominions in August 1947, at the time, 562 princely states under British suzerainty but not directly ruled by the British Government opted for joining either Pakistan or India. However, Kashmir remained a different case¹.

¹. Rao Farman Ali, Jammu Kashmir: Resolution Through Reconciliation for Peace and Dignity, Publisher : Sabzar Communications, Anantnag, 2010, pp.15-16.

The newborn states of Pakistan and India are fighting an endless war to claim over Kashmir. Both countries claiming peace as their byword never realize the fact that the right to rule belongs to the sons of the soil. In the case of Jammu and Kashmir, the ruler was Hindu while the population was overwhelmingly Muslim, waited for the decision to join India or Pakistan. M. K. Gandhi's three-day visit to Kashmir in August 1947— early days of first week— although described by him as apolitical and to fulfill the promise made by him in 1919 to Maharaja Pratab Singh at Kumbh Mela, soon after Gandhi's departure Maharaja Hari Singh replaced R.C. Kak² with Mehr Chand Mahajan under the influence of Guru Sant Dev, who had developed convivial relations with M.K. Gandhi².

Maharaja Hari Singh hoped to keep Kashmir Independent, offering a “*standstill agreement*” for trade, communications, and other normal affairs between Kashmir, India, and Pakistan, as in the British era. On 12th August 1947 Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir decided to negotiate a standstill agreement with India & Pakistan. Government of India sent a telegram for Maharaja or his representative to visit Delhi for discussions. Where as ‘Stand Still’ agreement was signed with Pakistan on 18th August 1947— thus accepting Sovereignty of Kashmir³.

A delegation of NC working committee which include Ghulam Muhammad Bakshi and Ghulam Muhammad Sadiq visited Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, leader of Pakistan told them that if they[Kashmiris] want Independence, Pakistan will support it and will not even allow a single tourist to visit Kashmir unless allowed by administration [Independent Kashmir] narrator giving a mention of Syed Mir Qasim⁴.

Pakistan was authorized to operate Kashmir posts and telegraph department. Pakistan was also obliged to supply food stuffs and other necessary items under the agreement⁵. But India pressed for Kashmir's incorporation into India. At the same time Maharaja had to face a powerful national movement and there had been demands for autonomy in Gilghit, Baltistan, Hunza, and Nagar regions, autonomous vassals of Jammu Kashmir, since the mid-nineteenth century.

When Hari Singh was on his way to Jammu, he laid the foundation stone of communalism by refusing to drink tea served by a Muslim bearer attached to rest-house at Ramban. Upon reaching Jammu, Maharani Tara Devi and Mahajan distributed arms among communal Hindus and fascist Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) volunteers and Sikh communalists accompanying them, attacked Muslim villages and set them on fire, displacing some 5,00,000 residents.

². Source: Prof. G.M Shad, Historian.

³. Rao Farman Ali, 'Jammu Kashmir: Resolution Through Reconciliation for Peace and Dignity, Publisher : Sabzar Communications, Anantnag, 2010, pp.20-21.

⁴.Source: Advocate Abdul Samad Tak, 2012

⁵. <http://www.americanchronicle.com/articles/view/80699>, By : Sagar a social activist and a senior columnist on Kashmir affairs), accessed on 13 March 2012.

The Muslims of Jammu were assured of a safe conduct to Pakistan but were massacred at Samba, Jammu . No doubt, these killings were organized by the Maharaja, his bigoted wife Tara Devi played an important role . She was under the influence of a mysterious Guru Sant Dev, described as Rasputin of Kashmir⁶!

By September 1947, there was a large scale armed uprising in Poonch, led by Muhammad Ibrahim⁷ with a view that the Maharaja of Kashmir had no right to call in the Indian Army, because it held that the Maharaja of Kashmir was not a hereditary ruler, that he was merely a British appointed employee. On 20th -22nd October 1947 people of Azad Kashmir equipped with arms and the active support of tribesmen took control of Muzaffarabad side and on 24th October 1947 they formed their own government . The tribesmen from North West Frontier Province descended on Baramullah, only 30 miles from Srinagar on October 24-26, and opened up Gulmarg front . Maharaja^{III} blamed that tribesmen have entered in the State and writes to Mountbatten *"I have to inform Your Excellency that a grave emergency has arisen in my State and request the immediate assistance of your Government. As Your Excellency is aware, the State of Jammu and Kashmir has not acceded to either the Dominion of India or Pakistan. Geographically my State is contiguous with both of them. Besides, my State has a common boundary with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and with China... [sic]."*⁸

While as India claims that the Accession of the state of Jammu Kashmir to India, signed by the Maharaja [erstwhile ruler of the State] on 26th October, 1947, was completely valid in terms of the Government of India Act (1935), Indian Independence Act (1947) and international law and was total and irrevocable. But evidence based on declassified military papers suggest that India had Patalia gunners at the Srinagar airport by October 17, 1947, and has scoffed at the Indian apologists who propose that India's invasion of Kashmir was the triumph of improvisation—instead— state that India had troops mobilized for an invasion of Kashmir by October 25th, 1947, this would mean that India's army was in Kashmir before the decision of the Maharajah. With India's army already in Kashmir it is obvious why the Maharaja^{IV} would hand his country over to India. Because of the injustice displayed by India, the Treaty of Accession, if it was even signed, is nullified and void.⁹ But Lord Mountbatten accepts the conditional accession of

⁶ . Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah , Atash-I-Chinar, pp 386-387 (Urdu).

⁷ . Source: A study by Kunal Chattopadhyay , courtesy (blackwellreference.com)

⁸ . Letter from Maharaja Hari Singh to Lord Mountbatten on the eve of tribal invasion on J&K in 1947, Hari Singh October 26, 1947.

⁹ . A research from British sources quoted by Victoria Schofield, author of Kashmir in Conflict/ Alastair Lamb, author of a series of books on Kashmir.

Kashmir with India in response to letter dated 26th October 1947 delivered by Mr. V. P. Menon stating that—

“Consistently with their policy that in the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question if accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it is my Government’s wish that as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader the question of the State’s accession should be settled by a reference to the people.....[sic]¹⁰”

It was 6th November, 1947, thirty vehicles (trucks) full of Muslims left police lines Jammu to enter Pakistan via Suchit Garh border . On reaching Satwari, Jammu, the convoy was turned towards Samba ; instead of Suchitgarh . After travelling for some distance on the Samba road suddenly firing started near a place called ‘Mawa’ unleashing brutalities on them. Most of them got killed and some young men risking their lives swam across the canal and after travelling five miles on barefoot were able to reach Pakistan . After this massacre, out of the remaining lot, young ladies were abducted . It was on this spot that 16 year old daughter of Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas was also abducted^y and was later traced by the personal efforts of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, his wife was also critically injured . Next day (7th November, 1947), when Muslims in police lines came to know about the death of their kith and kin[around 0.2 million],they demanded perfect security, later on crossed the border under the security cover of Indian army . And Muslims of Ustaad Mohalla came to know about this bloodbath through Pandith Girdari Lal Dogra who informed them about the incident of mass murder of Muslims which had taken place on the Satwari-Samba road and admonished them not to go to Pakistan. On his advice, the Muslims dropped the idea of going to ‘Pakistan’ and decided to stay in Jammu without the security of the government¹¹ .” On 2nd March 1948, morning Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas was released on the border of Pakistan near Sucheet Garh under the orders of the Ghulam Muhammad Bakshi . Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and Ghulam Abbas had conversation on a number of matters . During this discourse both had agreed that whatever was happening in Kashmir should be put to an end . War was going on in the state those days, NC and MC had reached to an agreement—

“ India and Pakistan should stop fighting in Kashmir and the position of Jammu and Kashmir as it stood on 15th August, 1947, should be restored . A coalition Government comprising of National Conference and Muslim Conference should take the

¹⁰ . Rao Farman Ali , Jammu Kashmir: Resolution Through Reconciliation for Peace and Dignity,Publisher : Sabzar Communications , Anantnag, 2010, p- 28.

¹¹ . Rashid Tehseer, Tehreeq-i- Hurriyat Kashmir , , Vol. III, Srinagar, pp 319-321 (Urdu).

administration of the state for an interim period . Trade links and road communication between the state and the two countries should be restored . After a period of three years a plebiscite, to know whether or not the people of the state want to give a final shape to such a position, should be held .Further there was an agreement on the suggestion of holding a roundtable conference between the authentic leaders of both India and Pakistan ;Sheikh Abdullah ; Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas and supporters of both the leaders of [NC and MC]¹²."

"When Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas¹³ presented the whole issue before the Qiad-e-Azam, who while expressing his doubts rejected the formula and said that since India has taken the Kashmir to UNO, we must wait for the decision of the world body¹⁴." Sheikh Abdullah had placed one more suggestion before Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas . He should not go to Pakistan and that the members of his family would be called back and he should join the state cabinet, but Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas did not agree to this suggestion¹⁵."

"Outwardly Sheikh Abdullah was loyal to India but never lost sight of 'Third Option' [Independent Kashmir]. He spoke openly in favour of Kashmir's accession to India in January, 1948 at the UN when he was one of the members of Indian delegation, but in a private meeting with Warren Austin, the US representative at the United Nations, according to telegram sent to US secretary of State, Austin reported that Abdullah had been anxious to point out that there is third alternative—Independence— he did not want his people to be torn by violent conflicts between India and Pakistan . It would be much better if Kashmir was independent and could seek American and British aid for the development of the country¹⁶."

¹² . Dr. Muhammad Amin Malik, Role of National Conference , Publisher, Tahzeeb publishers, Srinagar, pp 260-261 (An interview with Khaja Sona Ullah Bhat, editor 'Aftab' excerpt).

¹³ . Prof. G .M Shad.

¹⁴ . Rashid Tehseer, Tehreeq-i- Hurriyat Kashmir , Vol. III, Srinagar, pp. 378-379 (Urdu) [(An interview with Khaja Sona Ullah Bhat, editor 'Aftab' excerpt].

¹⁵ . Rashid Tehseer, Tehreeq-i- Hurriyat Kashmir, Vol. III, Srinagar, p. 379 (Urdu).

¹⁶ . Victoria Schofield , Kashmir in Crossfire , I.B Tauris and Company, New York , 2010 (New Edition) p. 169.

Notes

- i. However several historians perceive that Kashmir was intriguingly made to become a different case . The division of British India was made on the basis of mutual agreement between Indian Muslim League and Indian National Congress—Two Nation Theory—eight states with dominant Muslim population and their proximity to the newly created Pakistan , were automatically to join Pakistan , Kashmir was clearly such a state . At the same time most historians argue that Maharaja was of the opinion to keep Kashmir an independent state, *raison d'être* that he opted for a Standstill Agreement with both of the newly created states[India and Pakistan]. Although Pakistan accepted it but India didn't.
- ii. Favoursing Kashmir's Independent Character, wished Kashmir to remain a country.
- iii. Some experts of Kashmir political history say that the communication needs to be authenticated to the fact that any such thing in reality did occur or not and maintain that letter for conditional accession with India was executed in fraudulent manner. But the question arises ,Lord Mountbatten replied to the letter delivered to him by V.P Menon .If the reply of Lord Mountbatten supports plebiscite , then it should be treated as true and valid. Furthermore , as per UN Resolution over Kashmir in Security Council April ,1948, under the heading—Restoration of Peace and Order : clause 1(a), one more, heading— Government of India should: clause 2(a), 2(b),29(c) ,2(c)I and 2(c)ii. And another heading—Plebiscite: clause 6, 7, 10(a)...[sic] must be also taken into account.
- iv. Maharaja was threatened for the arrest , forced to hand over his country or did on the basis of religion to which he belonged .[Another expert opinion].
- v. Muhammad Ali Jinnah personally contacted Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru over the issue, consequently , girl was recovered from the abductors and sent to Pakistan, is the authentic version.

Chapter 3

Freedom Struggles of Kashmir

Kashmiris have roused several times against tyranny, oppression and subjugation and there are umpteen historical documents of its medieval history, were they have challenged numerous rulers for their ugly behaviour, right from 1585, at the onset of Mughal rule. Anjumam-i-Nusrat Islam was established in 1905 by Mirwaiz Rusul Shah to impart religious and modern education among the Kashmiri Muslims.

Anjuman-e-Ahl-i-Hadees was founded in about 1925, among the founder members were Haji Muhammad Shahdad, Muhammad Anwar Bhat [later called Molvi Anwar Shopiani] and Sabzaar Shah¹.

First three years of the thirties of twentieth century form a landmark in the history of modern Kashmir. It was during these years that a growing concern developed among the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir to launch an organized struggle against the Dogra rule. This concern ultimately concretized in the formation of the first ever-known political organization of Kashmir—All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, on 21st June 1931 by Mir Waiz Yusuf Shah, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, Chowdhury Ghulam Abbas G.N Gilkar[Qadiyani], Ahmad Shah Jalali and others, and on Monday, 13th July 1931, police firing in Srinagar on agitatorsⁱⁱ, who were protesting against the tyrant rule of Maharaja resulted into more than two dozen deaths, after that unfortunate incident, every year, 13th July is observed as 'Martyrs Day' in Jammu and Kashmir.

In January 1932 Civil Disobedience movement was launched by Muslim Conference. All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference received the formal approval from the leadership on 16th October 1932, later on the conversion of Muslim Conference(MC) into National Conference(NC) in 1938 but officially announced on 9th June 1939, played a prominent role against autocratic rule in Kashmir.

Jamaat-e Islamiⁱⁱⁱ was the first organised Islamic reformist movement in the Indian subcontinent formed on 26th August 1941 in Darul Islam[Jamaalpur], Pathankot under the leadership of Syed Abul Ala Maududi; but proper organizational shape given in a convention at Lahore.

Maulana Abul Ala Maududi was born on September 25, 1903 in Aurangabad, a well-known town in the former princely state of Hyderabad, Deccan. He was the direct descendant of Khwaja Qutubuddin Maudood Chishti, whose teachings reached Indian subcontinent through his well-known disciple Khwaja Moinuddin of Ajmer.

Maududi's father Syed Ahmad Hassan Maududi was an advocate by profession. He practiced in Meerut and then shifted to Hyderabad, Deccan—educated at Aligarh but in later life was much disgusted with the British Imperialism and western culture and gave up his legal profession since found it contrary to Hassan's aim of life—because of his abhorrence for the English way of life instead of sending child to the English schools employed tutors to teach Abul Ala Maududi at home, among all classical subjects, the English language and literature, modern disciplines and Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages.

¹ . Muhammad Yusuf Ganai, Genesis of Political Consciousness, Publisher: Mohsin Publications, Srinagar, 2003, pp88-89.

On 3rd August 1945 National Conference adopted 'Naya Kashmir' programme in its annual session at Sopore, Baramulla for the all-round economic development of J&K and on 9th May 1946 'Quit Kashmir' movement was launched by the NC against the rule of Maharaja and for establishing a popular Government in J&K. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah^{iv} had come under the influence of Pt. Nehru, was more focused on government though advised by a low profile NC leader Bakshi for not doing so².

"On 27th October 1947, the working committee of the NC passed a resolution recommending the accession of Jammu Kashmir^v to India, and the resolution was ratified in a special convention.³"

The government of Jammu and Kashmir did not accept the constitution of India as a constitution for the state. Despite the accession, the state was still to be governed by the old constitution Act, 1939. This was because the government of India had given an undertaking that the people of Kashmir could frame their own constitution. The government of India could not force the state to accept the constitution (of India), for that would violate the agreed terms of the association of Kashmir with India. The state had voluntarily surrendered three matters only and the government of India could not enlarge the sphere of its jurisdiction at its own discretion⁴. The Maharaja made an order on October 30, 1947,

appointing Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah as "the Head of the Administration with the power to deal with the emergency" and appointed a 23 member Emergency Council "pending the formation of the Interim Government".

Similarly on 11th November, 1947, Prime Minister of India, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru in a public speech near Palladium cinema of historical Lal Chowk, Srinagar, promised Kashmiris that they will be given the right to express their future allegiance by granting them their right of 'Plebiscite'.

A proclamation issued on March 5, 1948 by the Maharaja and decided "to replace the Emergency Administration by a popular Interim Government and to provide for its powers, duties and functions, pending the formation of a fully democratic Constitution". Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was appointed Prime Minister. The Council of Ministers was to function "on the principle of joint responsibility". It was enjoined to convene "a National Assembly based upon adult suffrage" to frame a constitution. The Assembly was to submit the Constitution "through the Council of Ministers for any acceptance".

Meanwhile in mid-1948 Jammu and Kashmir police claimed that they have recovered 643 crude bombs, 666 hand-grenades and 83 tin boxes of fuses in raids, which led to 22 arrests. Authorities allegedly maintained that these explosives had been brought from Pakistan by a Srinagar resident Salim Jahangir Khan.

Dr. Muhammad Ramzan, Marhama, Bijbehara of Anantnag, Kashmir was coordinating the acts of armed activities in Kashmir⁵, he was in contact with Muhammad Akram Sheikh [Bijbehara Anantnag] an ex-soldier [Rangrūt^{vi}], who participated in World War-II,

². Source: Advocate Abdul Samad Tak of Verinag, 2012

³. Riyaz Punjabi, 'Kashmir imbroglio: the socio-political roots', Contemporary South Asia, 4:1, pp46-47, 1995.

⁴. Justice A.S. Anand, The Development of the constitution of Jammu and Kashmir 3rd Edition, 1994, p.99

⁵. Source: Abdul Salam Deva, then the member of Mujahid Home Front, after the conversion of PF to NC, joined NC, after the start of militancy from 1989, remained inactive.

then elevated as an officer, after the partition of British India opted to join Pakistan Army with the perception that Kashmir will be the part of Pakistan, Akram^{vii} came to his native town and distributed some weapons among his friends saying that they will serve the purpose of self-defense, which he had taken from Army depot, where he was posted, by entering into the distribution channel of weapons, because after the partition of British India weapons were also to be divided and distributed between the two new born countries as per the armed forces strength, even the finances in the similar manner but India didn't do it, on this M.K Gandhi registered a protest for the unaccomplished promise by India with Pakistan⁶

So the weapons available with selected youth of Kashmir in general and youth of South Kashmir in particular, including Budgam and its nearest areas towards summer Capital Srinagar were not brought from Pakistan but arranged in a different manner as a part of anti-India anguish.

On 16th October, 1948 some annoyed young men under the patronage of Tahseer-Ul Islam Zia [Muzaffarabad] launched Mujahid Home Front led by Dr. Abdul Majeed Sheikh and other youth which include Haji Jalal Ud Din [Charar-e -Sharief], Abdul Salam Kutay, Wali Muhammad Shah, Ghulam Qadir Mangnu, Ghulam Nabi Parrey, Mohi- Ud-Din Shawl, Ghulam Muhammad Bassu, Ghulam Ahmad Salroo, Ghulam Rasool Badr, Ghulam Nabi Shora, Dr. Davood—Abdul Gani and Abdul Rehman [Mendhar Pooch] besides several others mostly supporters of Muslim Conference. Declaring the instrument of accession with India invalid on the terms that Maharaja was unauthorized for executing it, as he [Maharaja] was not an elected public representative and openly criticized NC for the resolution in support of accession. It also propounded the struggle against feudalism, establishment of peoples government not like that of National Conference, giving people right to decide their future and openly supporting accession to Pakistan, to gather support of the common stock, party members [youth] use to enchant rhythmic songs [folklore] in various streets of Urban and Sub-urban Kashmir especially Anantnag in evening hours for the youth assemblages⁷

In the meantime, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru recorded the issue, the provisions, to embody the State's membership of the Union in the proposed Constitution of India discussed in a letter to Sheikh Muhammad Abdulah on 18th May, 1949. The State was to have its own Constitution and "it will be for the Constituent Assembly of the State, when convened, to determine in respect of what other subjects the state may accede". On June 16, 1949 Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah^{viii}, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh, Molvi Muhammad Saeed Masoodi and Moti Ram Baigra took the pledge and signed the Register of Members of the Constituent Assembly of India⁸

The constituent Assembly adopted the constitution of India on November 26, 1949⁹. It replaced the government of India Act, 1935. Article 394 provided that most of its provisions would come into force from January 26, 1950, Thursday. On November 25, 1949 the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir made a proclamation declaring that " the

⁶ . Source: Prof. G.M Shad, 2012

⁷ . Source: Abdul Salam Deva, 2012

⁸ . Report of the State Autonomy Committee, Srinagar, July 2000, pp 18, 19, 20

⁹ . C.A.D, Vol 12, p.995

constitution of India shortly to be adopted by the Constituent Assembly and constitution of India shall in so far as it is applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, govern the Constitutional relationship between this State and the contemplated Union of India

.....¹⁰

On January 26, 1950, Thursday, the President of India made the first Constitutional (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) order, 1950 under the Article 370 of the Constitution of India. It conformed strictly to the Instrument of Accession¹¹.

“Kashmir has been wrongly looked upon as a price for India or Pakistan. People seem to forget that Kashmir is not a commodity for sale or to be bartered. It has an individual existence and its people must be the final arbiters of their future.[sic].”^{ix}

On August 20th 1951, Monday, the Government Rest House at Akad, on Anantnag—Pahalgam road, was set on fire, along with nearby bridge. The police claimed that they discovered in investigations –group responsible for Government Rest House— arson had also carried out at five places earlier, unexplained attacks, the burning of Kangan, Sagipora and Singhpora bridges on roads leading out of Srinagar, the destruction of the forest hut in Nagrang, Rajouri and cutting of a military telephone line from Srinagar to

Gulmarg¹².

However, the political rivalry cannot be ruled out, as the attacks preceded the nomination in Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly and in the state government’s view, were intended to disrupt the democratic process, but alienation of Kashmiris towards India could be the key factor to these acts. Mujahid Home Front carried out all these acts to send a sensational message to the general public of Jammu and Kashmir and the main motive behind such acts was to congregate the Anti-India sentiment to a common point, especially among youth of Kashmir¹³. Fourteen people were arrested for these attacks out of which nine were under-trial, which include Sheikh Abdul Majeed, Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Shawl, Ghulam Qadir Mengnu, Ghulam Muhammad Badr^x, Ghulam Nabi Shora, Wali Muhammad Shah and Abdul Salam Deva, who were the staunch supporters for accession to Pakistan.

September, 1951, nomination for the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly^{xi} were in progress, Rugnath Vaishnavi filed his nomination papers for the Constituent Assembly in

August 1951 but was abducted along with family members by NC hooligans and threatened for dire consequences¹⁴.

All 75 seats were won by the National Conference, Constituent Assembly formed. The Praja Parishad, a Jammu based political party demanding complete accession to India boycotted the

¹⁰ . White paper on Indian states; Government of India, Ministry of States, New Delhi, 1959,p.371

¹¹ . Report of the State Autonomy Committee, Srinagar, July 2000,p.26.

¹² . Praveen Swami, India Pakistan and the Secret Jihad, Publisher, Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group),2007,USA, p 26.

¹³ . Source: Abdul Salam Deva,2012.

¹⁴ . Source: Advocate Abdul Samad Tak,2012.

elections, supported behind by Congress. It was at the behest of Congress the Praja Parishad did so.

In a public address at Hakura Badasgam, Anantnag [Bonea Bagh (Chinar Garden)], late October or the beginning of November 1951, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh second-in command of NC said that there are two bulls, strong and weak, choice is yours to bet upon one among the two but both are required to plough the fields. My wisdom says that stronger bull can serve our interest, referring towards **India**¹⁵!

“ We have not acceded to India as forced labourers that we have to act as puppets in their hands. Our relationship with India is on the basis of principles and India should respect those principles. We are prepared to accept application of India’s Constitution to Kashmir in its entirety once we are satisfied that grave of communalism has been dug in India.....[sic]!”^{xii}

“I say with all respects to our Constitution that it just does not matter what your Constitution says; if the people of Kashmir do not want it, it will not go there. Because what is the alternative? The alternative is compulsion and coercion...”

“We have fought good fight about Kashmir on the field of battle... (sic)...in many a chancellery of the world and in the United Nations, but, above all, we have fought this fight in the hearts and minds of men and women of that State of Jammu and Kashmir. Because, ultimately - I say this with all difference to this Parliament - the decision will be made in the hearts and minds of the men and women of Kashmir; neither in this Parliament, nor in the United Nations nor by anybody **else**.”^{xiii}

1952 is very important in the State’s Constitutional Evolution. It witnessed the conclusion of the Agreement between Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah which was announced at press conference in Delhi, July 24, 1952, Thursday [Delhi Agreement]. It culminated in the Indian President’s second order under Article 370 on November 15, 1952, Saturday but the first was made on the recommendations of the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir.

On the other hand Pakistan has always been the supporter of Kashmir resistance movement and continues to support morally, politically and diplomatically, since 1947 [after the partition of British India].

19th June 1953, Friday, formation of pro-Pak Kashmir Political Conference took place, led by Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Karra, who resigned from the NC, probably on Ministerial **Portfolios**¹⁶!

8th August 1953, Saturday Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was arrested which angered common stock of people, mainly Muslims, hundreds of people killed in unprovoked police firing, who protested against the arrest, which led to convergence of the support for him.

During Ghulam Muhammad Bakshi [Khalid-i-Kashmir] regime, the state of Jammu and Kashmir drifted steadily into Indian orbit, encouraged corruption— a policy to change the anti-India attitude among common Kashmiris, turned Kashmiri youth into bad boys and society got transformed into a perverted outlook. Because Kashmiri society was led

¹⁵ . ibid

¹⁶ . Prof. G. M Shad, 2012.

by those to whom common stock use to call persona non grata and everybody entered into a cult of reference culture.

In 1954 the Constituent Assembly formally ratified the accession of the state with India. On 13th April 1954, Tuesday the customs barrier between Kashmir and rest of India was lifted.

Plebiscite **Front**^{xiv} (Mahaz-i- Rai Shumari) took birth on 9th August 1955, Tuesday— led by Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh as President, while as Sofi Muhammad Akber and Atta Ullah Suharwardy, as Vice Presidents and some key persons of the party including Munshi Ishaq, Dr. Abdul Majeed Sheikh, Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Shawl and Ghulam Ahmad Baderwahi, who were the fire brand leaders and played a pivotal role in shaping up of aggressive anti-India stand among the people in general and youth in particular, percolated down to the teenagers of Kashmir, which had given a specific conditioning to them, who grew under the shadow of distress with subjugation as a widespread consciousness, supported for the accession to Pakistan by means of Right to Self-determination.

PF had a well-established Legal Committee headed by veteran advocates, which include, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh, Muhammad Yaseen Sidiqi, Ghulam Muhammad Shah, Mubarik Shah, Hakeem Habib Ullah, Abdul Ahad Vakil and several others—with the legal office at court road Srinagar, where presently, a Masjid (Mosque) **stands**¹⁷.

By October 1956 the Constituent Assembly had decided upon a constitution for the **state**^{xv}. It modeled on the Indian constitution, with the bicameral legislation.

“This house is not entitled to take any decision with regard to the accession of the state or to draft a constitution as it has lost the confidence of the people. In this connection, I place a statement in black and white before the president through the secretary of the house and I declare that we break our relations with the **house**.”^{xvii}

On June 18, 1957, Tuesday, Bagh Ali's group made a strike by way of alleged bombing on a shop in Jammu's main shopping centre Residency Road and by the time their arrest the group had executed four other strikes on the targets of potential military value—two bombings of bridges, one targeted at United Nations Military Observer Group's camp office in Jammu and another directed at an Indian Airlines Corporation van, similarly Mohib Ullah Beigh's group allegedly used similar tactics in the course of its work in the valley. While it allegedly carried out attacks on targets—notably the bombings on two small culverts across streams in Pulwama and Budgam—on September 8, 1957, Sunday, two booby—trapped explosive devices inside a Masjid of Maisuma were planted— one of the politically violent neighbourhoods of Srinagar, a local resident, Abdul Ahad Bakaya lost both of his sons when one of the mosque bombs went-off, and his daughter and wife were **injured**¹⁸

but neutral experts in Kashmir say that if these groups had carried out attacks as a part of armed resistance struggle, then to attack on UNMOGIP, office and bombing on Maisuma Mosque have proven counterproductive, thus raise much suspicion over the strikes and treat them as anti-resistance act but some attribute the group as a band of annoyed young men.

¹⁷ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar, 2012

¹⁸ . Praveen Swami, India Pakistan and the Secret Jihad, Publisher, Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group), 2007, USA, p 37

In 1960 Aman Ullah Khan, Mir Abdul Aziz, Abdul Khaliq Ansari, G. M Lone, Mir Manan and Mir Qayoom formed a Committee to support Kashmir resistance movement meant for independence¹⁹. In 1962, Jammu and Kashmir Liberation League was formed by K.H Khurshid as the President of the party^{xvii}.

On 12th May 1963, Sunday 'Kashmir Independence Committee' (KIC) was formed by middle class Kashmiri activists in Azad Kashmir, which include journalists, students, businessmen and lawyers to oppose the proposals by the Pakistani and Indian foreign ministers for dividing Kashmir on communal basis. This committee was headed by the Kashmir State Council member G M Lone.

27th December 1963, Friday, over the mysterious disappearance of Holy Relic(Sacred Hair of the Prophet Muhammad^{S.A.W}) preserved in Hazratbal Shrine, Srinagar triggered the mass agitation, on this grave religious issue Action Committee^{xviii} was formed to trace the Relic. B.N Mullik, the intelligence Bureau chief, has provided one of the few detailed accounts of the disappearance of the moe-e-muqaddas (Holy Relic) and its inexplicable reappearance; even the spymaster, however, shied away from spelling out the details²⁰.

One unpopular version of the event is that the disappearance was engineered by G.M Sadiq himself—G.M Bakshi had resigned from the office that October 1963 as a part of reorganization^{xix} of the party apparatus, replaced by virtually a lightweight, Khawaja Shamsuddin Kath[Khatib] as Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. This was not liked by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru and G.M Sadiq, as he was aspirant to the post of the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, which was tactfully refused by G.M Bakshi. In revenge thirty eight charges of corruption were eventually brought against Bakshi, of which fifteen were proven by judicial investigator²¹.

Most of the Kashmiris blame G.M Bakshi, responsible for the disappearance of Holy Relic but it is empirically unfounded. If so- then, was this act to pressurize him, why Mullick has introverted on the detailed disappearance of Holy Relic from the time set forth suggest that Mullick has retrieved the Holy Relic from a prominent Srinagar family [not yet known to common Kashmiris].

People demanded that deedar [a special exhibition] of the Holy Relic sanctioned by customs, be held to establish its authenticity but Union Ministry of Home Affairs opposed the holding of deedar[sighting]—Molvi Masoodi^{xx} declared the Relic to be genuine at the deedar defusing the crisis— Nehru personally interceded and over-rode senior officials in MHA government of India²².

April 8, 1964 [Wednesday] the "Kashmir Conspiracy Case" against Sheikh Abdullah and others withdrawn by the Sadiq government unconditionally and Sheikh Abdullah released consequently.

¹⁹ . Source: Source: Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, 2012

²⁰ . Mullick(B.N), My Years with Nehru, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1971, p 87

²¹ . Source: Prof. G.M Shad, Historian, 2012

²² . Praveen Swami, India Pakistan and the Secret Jihad, Publisher, Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group),2007,USA, Canada, p 42.

On 22nd June, Monday 1964 Peoples Action Group emanated into a politico-religious party called Awami Action Committee, led by Molvi Muhammad Farooq as President and Waji Ahmad Andrabi as its General **Secretary**²³ which include Ghulam Hassan Inqilabi, Ghulam Nabi Shora, the name of the party was given by Ghulam Mustafa **Alvi**²⁴ .

As a part of imitation from PF and discontent seemingly demonstrated by the Hazratbal crisis Students and Youth League was formed in March 1964, Sheikh Ghulam **Muhammad**^{xxi} – Chief Patron, Abdul Rashid Kabli—Chief Organizer, Bashir Ahmad Wani—district president Anantnag,

Abdul Rashid Shaheen—district president Baramullah, along with central council members, which include Anwar Ashai, Muhammad Asharaf Batkoo, Zafar-ul-Islam, Aftab Ahmad, Nazir Ahmad Wani, Nazir Plebiscite, Muzaffar Hussain Beigh, Bashir Ahmad Kitchloo, Prof. Javaid and some low profile members like Nazir Ahmad Shah [Kath], Ghulam Muhammad Khan and Bashir Ahmad Talak with its headquarter at Engineering College Srinagar and modus operandi of the organization was to involve students of Kashmir, it used to raise finances through **donations**²⁵ The only visible act of the party was that in Srinagar Lal Chowk, after the constitutional amendment in 1965, when the nomenclature of Prime Minister was changed to Chief Minister and Sadar-e-Riyasat to Governor, it dropped tent over the G.M Sadiq at a public rally, as a mark of protest and came to the limelight. At the same time another stumpy shaped youth organization of leftists led by Muhammad Yusuf Tarigami was established under the name and style, Revolutionary Youth Federation, which include Chaman Lal Kantroo, Shafi Shouq, Manzoor Ahmad Khaki, Gulshan Majeed and several others, supporting Right to Self-**Determination**²⁶ and in the same year Muslim Youth Federation (MYF) was established to which Fazal Haq Qureshi was the active member rather at **forefront**²⁷.

In May 1964 Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah visited **Pakistan**^{xxii} first reported Rawalpindi and addressed at various places in Azad Kashmir like Mirpur, Muzaffarbad etc. at Kohlala bridge he was received by Aman Ullah Khan and Mir Abdul Aziz— PF was established there, Maqbool Butt was made charge de'affairs' by Mirza Muhammad Afzal **Beigh**²⁸ .

In June 1964, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh said in a huge public gathering at Mattan Adda, Anantnag that the tour of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah to Pakistan had been successful—they had put a **hen**^{xxiii} on Basket of eggs for the purpose of hatching, reached almost to the maturation stage, baby chicks were about to come, unfortunately the hen **expired**²⁹ .

²³ . Azam Inqilabi, Payam-e Hurriyat, Urdu, Publisher, Jammu Kashmir Mahaz-e-Azadi,2006,p.208.

²⁴ . Source: Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, 2012

²⁵ . Source: Advocate Bashir Ahmad Wani, 2012

²⁶ . Source: G.N Malik (CPIM), 2012

²⁷ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar, 2012

²⁸ . Source: Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, 2012

²⁹ . Source: Advocate Abdul Samad Tak, 2012

In the meantime intelligence agencies of India describe Rehmat Ullah Khan, main person responsible for the formation of Master cell, used to keep anti-India sentiment live in Kashmir before the start of Operation Gibraltar, however, several resistance cells were very much operational in Kashmir to challenge Indian rule, which were totally indigenous in character.

Rehmat Ullah Khan had struggled since childhood with economic hardship and personal tragedy. Khan was born in the city of Jammu in 1925, the son of a contractor who died when the boy was just six months old. He was raised by his mother, in 1937 joined his brother's cement concern in Lahore.

On the eve of partition, in 1945, he setup his own small business in Calcutta, where his business flourished. In 1948, in the wake of the violent Hindu-Muslim confrontation that tore apart the city, the young businessman was arrested allegedly for robbing a postman at gunpoint [Intelligence

Report]. He was under-trial, convicted and sentenced to eight years imprisonment³⁰. Khan was released in April 1954—the young man was able to rebuild his life in short period. He was able to join the business of one of his brothers, who worked as Public Works contractor in Srinagar, within a year had saved up enough to setup an independent concern operating from the old Pataudi House in Darya Ganj, a commercial centre in old Delhi. In less than a decade, the enterprise had flourished. Khan employed over 100 people and was regarded as a prosperous and respectable citizen of his locality.³¹

Another Youngman, Mian Ghulam Sarwar, having the high qualities of romantic disposition was also allegedly responsible for stipulating anti-India cell in Kashmir to give flip to the resistance movement, although having little interest in politics, the son of a wealthy Srinagar family—his father Mian Ghulam Muhammad had served the Jammu and Kashmir Government in various senior capacities, and retired as Chairman of the State Public Service Commission—Sarwar

had studied to be a veterinarian at Patna, In Bihar, but failed to complete his degree because of an illness. He began working in the Government Tourist Bureau in 1956, but the meagre

salary failed to meet his somewhat extravagant lifestyle³².

Rehamat Ullah first met Sarwar in the last week of June 1964, at what was eventually to become a safe house for resistance movement [covert cell's, Intelligence version 'Surendra Nath'³³. But they discussed all the possible means to support Kashmir resistance movement and later on arranged a meeting with Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah at Mujahid Manzil, headquarters for PF^{xxiv}. Meanwhile Khan and Mian brought several youth in their manifold with the purpose to give tough resistance to India and support Right to Self-determination. The social composition of the Master cell [Indian version] offers some insight into class character of the organization. One member, Abdul Hamid Khan, was a junior technician at Government Medical College in Srinagar,

³⁰ . Praveen Swami, India Pakistan and the Secret Jihad, Publisher, Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group), 2007, USA, p 52.

³¹) ibid

³² . ibid

³³ . ibid

another was, Muhammad Yusuf Mujahid, an Assistant Engineer in the Electrical Department; while as Ali Muhammad Malik and Mehboob Hussain were both students of the Regional Engineering College in Srinagar. Broadly, this pattern is mirrored through the overall composition of the resistance cells. Of total 44 residents of Indian Administered Jammu and Kashmir identified as cell members, the largest single category, 20, were government employees or contractors. The second largest category were the students, of whom there were 19. Only five cell members had independent business profession. All but three were from Srinagar or its immediate vicinity ; none was a **peasant**³⁴

Mian Sarwar and his three key colleagues— Muhammad Ashraf Batkoo, Bashir Ahmad Kitchloo and Zafar-ul- Islam —established a central organization [Master Cell of covert campaign, Indian version] to supervise the activities for challenging Indian rule. They met on the first floor of Sarwar's old fashioned wood house, just off the Budshah Bridge in Srinagar—almost directly opposite to contemporary location of the police Headquarters in Srinagar. Arms and explosives were kept in a specially constructed shelter in the **basement**.³⁵

When Muhammad Yusuf Mir (Verinag) was studying in Delhi (Journalism), an assignment was given to him by University to seek comments from the train passengers at Old Delhi Railway Station probably October 1964, suddenly his foot stuck with one fair looking person in his upper teenage having slim figure[Ashraf Batkoo], some papers slipped off from his right hand covered in a newspaper, when Yusuf picked up one, it was a pamphlet written with red ink, “ Red Revolution in Kashmir”, he [Batkoo] said, Aez Phasay [Today we are caught], Yusuf replied, don't worry and then carried Ashraf and his two colleagues [Yaseen Sidiqi and Nazir Rashid Shah] to his hostel, where they discussed lot about Kashmir resistance struggle and propensity towards struggle developed in to him, then they use to visit various Embassies in New Delhi including Pakistan High **Commission**.³⁶

21st December 1964, Monday, Article 356 applied to Jammu and Kashmir by New Delhi stating that the President's Rule can be imposed in the event of the failure of State constitution.

26th January 1965, Tuesday Jammu and Kashmir, Prime Minister, Ghulam Muhammad Sadiq— a clean and calm but a farsighted opportunist— announced the formation of Congress Party in **J&K**^{xxv} and on 10th April 1965, Saturday, the nomenclature of Sadar-e-Riyasat and Wazir-e- Azam changed to Governor and Chief Minister in the State Constitution and Sadiq quite often used to say that Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah can be prosperous Bank Manager and Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh a straightforward fund raiser, to ridicule them, although Beigh happened to be his classmate, it is why he told him so.

Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and Afzal Beigh toured Europe, West Asia and Makkah. Abdullah's meeting on 31st March 1965 with Chinese Prime Minister Chou-En Lai in Algeria was disliked by **India**.^{xxvi}

³⁴ . ibid

³⁵ . ibid

³⁶ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Mir, 2012

Before proceeding to full swing war of 1965, initially “Operation Gibraltar” was the name given to the master plan by Pakistan to infiltrate into Jammu and Kashmir and start a rebellion against Indian rule. Launched in August 1965, guerrillas, disguised as locals, entered Jammu Kashmir from Pakistan with the intention of fomenting an armed rebellion in Kashmir. However, the strategy went awry from the outset as it was not well-coordinated and the infiltrators were soon found. The debacle was followed by an Indian counterattack.....!

The operation was a significant one as it sparked a large scale military engagement between the two neighbours, the first since the Indo-Pakistani War of 1947. Its success, as envisaged by its Pakistani planners, could have given Pakistan control over a unified Kashmir; something that Pakistan desired to achieve at the earliest opportunity. However, the plan misfired and triggered a war (the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965) where Pakistan was put on the defensive and forced by the Indian army to retreat back to normal borders.

Following the First Kashmir War which saw India gaining the majority of the disputed area of Kashmir, Pakistan sought an opportunity to win back the areas lost. The opening came after the Sino-Indian War in 1962 as a result the Indian Military was undergoing massive changes both in personnel and equipment. During this period, despite being numerically smaller than the Indian Military, Pakistan’s armed forces had a qualitative edge in air power and armour over India, which Pakistan sought to utilise before India completed its defence **build-up**³⁷!

Meanwhile Rehmat Ullah Khan contacted Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Kara, Founder of Political Conference having slogan ‘*Awam Ka Fitri Rujhan Pakistan*’ [*Natural tendency of Kashmiris is Pakistan*] and was the cousin of Ghulam Muhammad Sadiq and asked him about the organization’s future course of action [as a sympathizer of PF] he was also in contact with Muhammad Mubarak Shah, a member of PF’s Legal Defence **Committee**³⁸ - at the time when world was attempting to find a peaceful resolution to the conflict in Jammu and Kashmir [Rehmat Ullah Khan had turned a spy, a version of Indian **Intelligence**³⁹.

Pakistan had made full groundwork and intelligence gathering for execution of the plan was laid by launching “Operation Nusrat”, the purpose of which was to locate gaps in the Cease Fire Line (CFL) that were to serve as entry points for the armed volunteers[Mujahideen], and to gauge the response of the Indian army and the local population.

Over the time, Central resistance Cell, spawned several subsidiary cells, the existence of each of which was known only to its own small circle of members. Five of these seem to have been particularly active[Indian version]:—

The Students’ Cell: Charged with organizing strikes in colleges and demonstrations
The Poster Cell: Divided into Sub-sections I and II, recruited staff at Government offices to print and issue posters on behalf of the Revolutionary Council using

³⁷ . Rao Farman Ali, ‘Jammu Kashmir: Resolution Through Reconciliation for Peace and Dignity’, Publisher : Sabzar Communications, Anantnag,2010,pp.121-122.

³⁸ . Praveen Swami, India Pakistan and the Secret Jihad, Publisher,Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group),2007,USA,p 52

³⁹ . ibid

typewriters and reproduction equipment there. One poster cell was run from the Power Project Generation Division's offices ; the other from Cultural Academy.

The Narwara Cell: Named for neighbourhood in Srinagar, the Narwara Cell was led by Muhammad Hussian Wazir, an employee of the Public Works Department. The nine member cell included two other Department employees, a government architect and three teachers. Wazir was trained in using hand grenades, instructed other cadre in the use of weapons.

The Buchawara Cell: This six-member cell like the Narwara Cell, was specific to a neighbourhood in Srinagar, in this case a particularly sensitive one, since it was home of the Chief Minister. This cell guided Pakistani volunteers to the Government Factory Wuyan and army fuel dump at Khunmoh and ferried weapons intended for the master cell.

The Infiltrator Liaison Cell: Unlike other cells, the infiltrator Liaison Cell had no operational role. It was meant to facilitate the working of stay-back agents like Hayat Mir, all of them residents of Pakistan Administered Kashmir⁴⁰. However, several political commentators and Kashmir conflict experts believe that these resistance cells were operating locally as a part of anti-India anguish and it is intelligence agencies which have given such names to them^{xxvii}, and most importantly cells were formulated by local youth with indigenous character in their deeds and actions.

Hayat Mir^{xxviii}, who had made contact with Mian Sarwar soon after his departure from Budgam, was claimed by Indian counter- intelligence to have been involved in several attacks in Kashmir. Some arms which include a Sten gun, three rifles, grenades and ammunition was dumped in the Harwan area on the onset of winter by an active volunteer Gulzamaan and two more armed volunteers of Pakistan Abdul Majid and Ahmad Yunus made a contact with master cell, were tasked to instruct new recruits in the use of hand grenades.

The key member of, one of the resistance Cells, Fazal-Ul- Haq Qureshi, admitted that they [Fazal] worked as nodal agency for raising morale and generate social support for 'freedom fighters' who had come from Pakistan and portrayed himself as one among them but maintained that these cells were entirely home-grown not at the behest of others [Pakistan]⁴¹.

Despite initial reservations by the President of Pakistan Ayub Khan, the operation was set in motion. In the first week of August 1965, [some sources put it at 24 July, Saturday], armed volunteers began to cross the Cease Fire Line dividing and were — called "Gibraltar Force" — were given different code names, mostly after historically significant Muslim rulers.⁴² The operation's name, Gibraltar, itself was chosen for the Islamic connotations⁴³.

⁴⁰ . ibid

⁴¹ . Source: Fazal Haq Qureshi, 2012.

⁴² . 42. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/operation_Gibraltar#cite_note-12#cite_note-12) accessed 21 April 2012.

⁴³ . Rao Farman Ali, 'Jammu Kashmir: Resolution Through Reconciliation for Peace and Dignity', Publisher : Sabzaar Communications, Anantnag, 2010, p.123.

Similarly, **Munshi Ishaq**^{xxxix}, in the first week of August 1965 dropped a message for Alvi that some guests are coming to him at that time he was in Token, Pulwama and reached back late evening then arranged a vehicle without number plate from Abdul Gani Kabadi [Scrape Dealer] and straight away drove the vehicle to downtown, later on a meeting took place between Ghulam Ahmad Baderwahi and Ghulam Mustafa Alvi at Bagwanpora in the house of Muhammad Yusuf Hakeem, and then with Dr. Ab. Majeed Sheikh, Zaina Apa besides Munshi Ishaq and Ghulam Mustafa Alvi. After almost two days an Urdu poster with the dimensions of 20" x 30" with the headline “Awam Kay Liya Lamhi Fikriya” [A moment of concern for people] with a Persian couplet ‘ **Mara Soo Ast Ander Dil Agar Goyum Zaban So Zued— Va Gardum Dur Kushum Pinhan Na Goyum Mugzustkhawaan Soo Zued** ’ [My heart burns, if I speak out my tongue may catch fire, if I conceal—marrow within my bones will burn up] thus openly supporting to the armed **volunteers**^{xxx}, this very Persian couplet led to the exposure of Ghulam Mustafa Alvi for his underground activities, as he was accustomed to recite during public gatherings and rallies of PF— Munshi Ishaq was already **underground**⁴⁴. A women Zainab [a pass out student of Aligarh Muslim University], post graduate in Political Sciences and a lecturer of Women’s College Srinagar played a key role in 1965, openly

canvassing for armed volunteers and used to paste and prepare posters in their support —later married to Major General Jabbar Khan—sister of Muhammad Aslam Wani also participated actively to canvass for armed volunteers [Mujahideen] and both clubbed several other women mainly girls for their activities. The song [Nidar Delaar Bastiyein, Srinagar Ki Batiyein, Khadi Hein Lal Chowk Paey ‘Highly alleviated streets and brave daughters of Srinagar, Stand on Lal Chowk’] was written for their valour, possibly by **herself**⁴⁵.

On 7th August 1965, Saturday a letter was to be delivered to Munshi Ishaq of PF from Colonel Mansha [Pakistan] through Sattar **Phohul**^{xxxix} [Chowpan] about the military operation but instead of him it went to Molvi Saeed **Masoodi**^{xxxii} at Mujahid Manzil, he called D. P Dhar and Mubarik Shah concerning the issue and then it was conveyed to intelligence agencies and with the result operation got exposed two days earlier from its schedule— India brought out army from the barracks in the city and red alert was signaled in various sensitive locations having security value and deployed them heavily in **Srinagar**⁴⁶, thus proved a failed **venture**^{xxxiii}. Sattar immediately guided Brigadier Qayoom and Colonel Mansha back to Pakistan via Gulmarg **sector**⁴⁷. Thus Molvi Saeed Masoodi acted like Maqbool Shirvani of 1947, who misguided tribesmen, otherwise situation would have been different in both the **cases**⁴⁸.

⁴⁴ . Source: Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, 2012

⁴⁵ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar, 2012.

⁴⁶ . Source: Advocate Bashir Ahmad Wani, 2012.

⁴⁷ . Source: Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, 2012.

⁴⁸ . Source: Abdul Salam Deva,[then the member of Mujahid Home Front, after the conversion of PF to NC, joined NC, after the start of militancy from 1989, remained inactive.]

Despite the operational planning, armed volunteers [Mujahideens] were detected by Indian forces in Kashmir. With the exception of four districts which did revolt, the local Kashmiris cooperated with *Gibraltar Force* mostly in the districts of Baramullah, Budgam, Srinagar and Anantnag by serving food and in some areas with dynamic shelter also.

On 9th August 1965, Monday Indian forces torched Batamaloo Srinagar because local populace was giving vibrant shelter to armed volunteers [Mujahideens]⁴⁹. Gibraltar Force was soon facing attacks from the Indian Army who moved in immediately to secure the border. Some of the infiltrators

were captured by the Indian troops, mostly managed to escape. India accused the Pakistani government of sending and aiding the guerillas [Mujahideens] although Pakistan denied any complicity⁵⁰.

Mujahideen were of high character, simple people, on one occasion at Budgam in an apple orchard

one of the volunteer plucked off an apple from the tree, when their Ameer (boss), an officer in Pakistan army, came to know about this act, he virtually abused him and spitted on him, saying that we are in Kashmir to help them and without the permission of the owner^{xxxiv}, it is a sin⁵¹.

It is worth to mention that, Sattar Chowpan, Sattar Khanday, Jalal-Ud-Din and Abdul Samad Wani played key role in the mobilization of Gibraltar Volunteers⁵².

National Liberation Front was formed, on 13th August 1965, Friday at the residence of Major Aman Ullah in Peshawar. The aim of this organization was written down in just one sentence, "including armed struggle using all forms of struggle to enable the people of Jammu Kashmir state to determine the future of the State as sole owners of their motherland"⁵³.

On August 15, 1965, Sunday Indian forces crossed the border and launched an attack on the territory of Kashmir administered by Pakistan. Pakistani reports cite this attack as unprovoked while assessments from India and neutral sources cite this as a response to Pakistan's infiltration into Jammu Kashmir as part of Operation Gibraltar, which resulted in the full swing war⁵⁴, costing heavy men and material for both India and Pakistan and ended with no territorial changes but with ceasefire^{xxxv}.

⁴⁹ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar, 2012

⁵⁰ . Rao Farman Ali, 'Jammu Kashmir: Resolution Through Reconciliation for Peace and Dignity' Publisher : Sabzaar Communications, Anantnag, 2010, p.124.

⁵¹ .Source: Nissar Hussain Mir, 2012

⁵² . Source: Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, 2012

⁵³ . Muhammad Hussain Altaf, Publisher, Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front, Maqbool Manzil, Srinagar, p.12, 2010.

⁵⁴ . Rao Farman Ali, 'Jammu Kashmir: Resolution Through Reconciliation for Peace and Dignity' Publisher : Sabzaar Communications, Anantnag, 2010, p.124

“ **Khabardaar !**” [Beware], begins an Urdu poster issued by the Inqilabi [Revolutionary] Council on 28th August 1965, Saturday. “The history of the world shows that only those who have paid the price of their freedom have attained **salvation**⁵⁵” “Thirty four years ago,” the Revolutionary Council

asserted, “Stay cautious of traitors,” the poster warned, “ for those, will soon be dispatched to hell”. It ended with a verse from Holy Qur`aan : “Have courage and you will have the

victory⁵⁶. Similar like posters appeared in Anantnag, which were distributed by Abdul Rashid Bhat [Mattan Adda], Abdul Majeed Jild-Saaz [Sarnal], Gull Muhammad Din [Mattan Chowk], Ghulam Muhammad Darvv[Mattan Adda], Nissar Ahmad Jeelani [Mattan Chowk] and Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Babav[Sarnal]—active worker of PF. Except Nisar Ahmad Jeelani all others were arrested later by police in November 1965 on the charges of fomenting trouble in **Anantnag**⁵⁷ And the posters which they pasted in various streets of Anantnag town were supplied by Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer and Sofi Abdul **Rehman**^{xxxvi}.

On August 29th 1965, Sunday, in the midst of war, students at several places in Srinagar colleges went on strike. The students planned to hold a protest in front of UNMOGIP offices in Srinagar and to deliver a memorandum stating that Kashmir supports armed resistance movement which is

completely indigenous, on the other hand police came to know about the programme well in advance and dispersed the demonstration well before it reached the UNMOGIP office, later on a hand grenade went off at the crowded Regal Chowk, Srinagar area on that afternoon, which created panic in the city and shops were set on fire along the Hotel road after dark by **forces**⁵⁸. But police said that they were unknown persons, who were on the budge to disrupt peace in the **city**^{xxxvii}.

In the same year, 1965, some youth of Kashmir established United Freedom Front and started its activities in Kashmir, which led to the arrest of Ehsan-UI Haq, Ghulam Qadir Basmati, Waji Ahmad Andrabi, Fazal Haq and Aejaz –UI Haq on the charges of being the key members of this underground **organization**⁵⁹, similarly Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer was arrested on 21st October 1965, Thursday for allegedly distributing seditious [Anti-India] posters in the name of Muttahida

Mahaz-e-**Azadi**⁶⁰ [United Movement for Freedom] (MMeA).

On September 6th 1965, Monday students of Government Medical College— where from various students were working for different resistance cells, went on to Strike at 2.00 PM, at the same time someone threw a grenade at police personnel posted for the

⁵⁵ . Praveen Swami, India Pakistan and Secret Jihad, Publisher, Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group), 2007, USA, p 59

⁵⁶ . ibid

⁵⁷ . Source: Ghulam Muhammad Dar, 2011

⁵⁸ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar, 2012

⁵⁹ . Azam Inqilabi, Payam-e Hurriyat, Urdu, Publisher, Jammu Kashmir \ Mahaz-e-Azadi, 2006, p.209

⁶⁰ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar, 2012

purpose of preventing violence. Two officers and four spectators were injured [a move of sabotage,

a claim] and less than a week later, on September 11th Saturday, another grenade was thrown into the middle of the crowd at Lal Chowk. And police claimed that on the same night, efforts were made to set the Fateh Kadal bridge in downtown Srinagar on fire, along with the Indian National Congress provincial office [near College of Education) same like event happened on September 12th , Sunday at Maisuma and on the night Syed Mansoor bridge was set on fire[police claim]. But on September 21st Tuesday, yet another hand grenade was thrown at the police guard on the Nowpora bridge. An identical attack took place at the Dalgate crossing

on the morning of September 30th , Thursday, 1965, on the route traversed by Chief Minister at least twice a day⁶¹. On the route traversed by Chief Minister at least twice a day⁶¹. There

were several incidents of arson, which include attack on Old Secretariat, Vasanta Girls High School and some retaliatory arson attacks on row of shops in Dalgate⁶². But intelligence agencies blamed resistance cells for this arson too. Although, whole incidents created horror in the summer capital of Jammu and Kashmir.

It was probably October 1965, when some students of Degree college, Anantnag met Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh at water tank Sarnal, namely Abdul Rashid Dar, Qasim Sajad, Ghulam Mohi- Ud- Din Malik besides several others and discussed about Kashmir, Dar said to Beigh that they should start a struggle like Algeria but vehemently opposed by PF, President saying “ large scale armed struggle in Kashmir will invite class war, will serve the interests of others than Kashmiris”. Beigh reiterated that PF believes in the politics of principles not on violence or other means. Asked Abdul Rashid Dar to tell those who have sent you here that we[Beigh]

will not support armed resistance in Kashmir⁶³.

In the ending days of December 1965, claimed by Muhammad Yusuf Mir^{xxxviii} (Verinag) that he along with Shamim Ahmad of Ganderbal and Muhammad Anwar of Dobjan Shopian went to Pakistan via Attari, Amritsar Punjab guided by a Sikh to cross international border. When they successfully managed to cross to Pakistan and went to Peshawar, where they met Maqbool

Butt, Raja Muhammad Arshad, Raja Farooq and Ghulam Muhammad Lone [A Businessman of Karachi], thus Joined Jammu Kashmir National Liberation Front (NLF). Later on they received some kind of verbal tips about guerilla warfare and came back in ending February or beginning of March 1966 via Rajasthan by the support of Farhat not his actual name⁶⁴.

On the other hand during 1965 bloody war, which acted as a catalyst —large scale arrests, mainly from YL, by India in Kashmir infuriated the educated young men of

⁶¹ . Praveen Swami, India Pakistan and Secret Jihad, Publisher, Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group), 2007, USA, Canada, p 65.

⁶² . Source : Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar, 2012

⁶³ . Source: Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Malik, 2012

⁶⁴ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Mir, 2012.

Kashmir, and they started formulating various resistance cells, like Red Kashmir, Young Men's League(Students Federation) and others, who started thinking in their own style as 1965 Indo- Pak war yielded no results on ground in terms of Kashmir, which was much focused for the de-freezing of Kashmir Imbroglio towards the solution. This made Kashmiris especially 2nd generation after 1947 to rethink in their approach towards tangled issue, giving flip for demanding Right to Self-determination at any cost, mentally prepared for extreme confrontation with India and Independence for Kashmir made a visible presence among Kashmiris thinking, PF also acted as an attention getter. In this regard top rank of Youth League met Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah in 1966 at Mujahid Manzil and also attended the convention of PF at Sopore in the same year, because Indo-Pak war had a psychological impact upon Kashmiri people especially youth, who were of the opinion to continue the freedom struggle at any **cost**⁶⁵!

7th June 1966, Tuesday a secret meeting was held in Muzaffarabad at the residence of Ghulam Ud Din Ashai in evening which was attended by Maqbool Butt, Mir Hidayat Ullah, Raja Lal Hussian, Qazi Abdul Hai, Kale Khan, Habib Ullah Bhat, Major Aman Ullah and Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, the meeting was presided over by Maqbool Butt and Pakistan's failure to take Kashmir from India was taken into discussion and it was decided that an armed guerilla organization under the name and style '*Quami Azad-e-Mahaz*' National Liberation Front already formed will commence its operation to fight for the complete Independence of Kashmir, led by Maqbool Butt and Ghulam Mustafa Alvi was taken as its liaison officer. On 8th June 1966, Wednesday Maqbool Butt^{xxxix} told Alvi that after two days, on 10th June 1966, Friday he along with Aurangzeb, a student from Gilgit, Amir Ahmed and Kale Khan, a retired Subedar (noncommissioned officer from AJK force) will enter Kashmir for armed struggle and develop armed resistance cells there, on this Alvi gave some contacts to Maqbool, afterwards, they successfully managed to cross over to Kashmir via Kail **sector**⁶⁶, while as Major Amanullah and subedar Habibullah remained near to the division line [CFL], Aurangzeb was killed in an encounter.

During Maqbool Butt's stay in Srinagar, he used the house of Waji Ahmad Andrabi as a hideout and in city he met, erstwhile Prime Minister, Ghulam Muhammad Bakshi, who assured full support to Butt. And the oath form of NLF was filled for **him**^x, and he signed it by the blood instead of **ink**⁶⁷!

Maqbool Butt along with some of his group members worked underground for several months to develop armed resistance cells in Kashmir.

Amar Chand an intelligence officer was killed [weak account] by Gull **Muhammad**⁶⁸ (Retired Military Militia) and another [an authentic description] that he was killed by Tahir[Aurangzeb], later, on 14th September 1966, Wednesday, Indian security forces

⁶⁵ . Source: Advocate Bashir Ahmad Wani, 2012

⁶⁶ . Source: Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, 2012

⁶⁷ .Azam Inqilabi, Payam-e Hurriyat, Urdu, Publisher, Jammu Kashmir Mahaz-e-Azadi, 2006, p.209, originally appeared in daily English Newspaper, The Kashmir Monitor on 11th February 1999, Thursday, written by Advocate Ghulam Nabi Hagroo

⁶⁸ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar, 2012

laid a siege to a remote village in North Kashmir in which three of the high profile NLF members got besieged and encounter took place in which Tahir was killed, while as Major Aman Ullah managed to escape successfully but Maqbool Butt was arrested, he [Butt] was subjected to rigorous interrogation in notorious Red 16 etc., then shifted to Central Jail Srinagar, Ghulam Muhammad Dar (Guide) played a pivotal role in making the arrest possible and turned witness prosecution.

Youth League in Islamabad (Anantnag) took away a procession from Degree college Khanabal up to Malaknag Anantnag, in late 1966, even some pro-government elements instigating the process to turn the show into anti- Beigh pageant at Lal Chowk but at that point Abdul Rashid Dar managed to steer the procession up to Malaknag, where Nazir Ahmad Kath addressed the students, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh also addressed the procession at the same place but

denouncing the election process [Third Assembly election of State to be held on 5-6 March 1967] then procession went to Sarnal, already Abdul Rashid Kabli^{xli} had come under the influence of D. P Dhar and some infiltration was made in YL, on the other side Chief Minister G.M Sadiq was also of this opinion that students must carry out such demonstration to

mitigate the pressure of Kashmiri Pandits on Parmeshwari [turned Muslim after a marriage with a Muslim boy] upon his government but Abdul Rashid Dar^{xlii} had made clear to Beigh

that they [Students] are against the election process⁶⁹!

And Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh spotted some active students of Degree College and persuaded them towards politics with the motive to get the support from student community and later on came under the deep influence of Beigh. Young Men's^{xliii} League (Students Federation)^{xliv} was established on 1967 with Ashraf Javaid as its founder President while as Abdul Rashid Dar as Chief Organiser^{xlv}

but Sofi Abdul Rehman was the first Chief Organiser of YML, the sole aim for its creation was to strengthen PF⁷⁰. Others who were with YML included Sidiq Parray^{xlvi}, Qasim Sajad etc. The constitution of this resistance political party was to push youth for demanding the right of Right to Self-determination and look after the welfare of the student community and was totally indigenous in character⁷¹!

And in the same year Muhammad Altaf Khan@Azam Inqilabi formed Muslim Liberation Front, attempted to fabricate explosives, but never succeeded in putting together anything more than a fire cracker, but were involved in clandestine activities as a part of resistance movement.

Zehgeer had no intention of switching sides, he used the old influence of resistance cell, to which he was a part and jailed for, contacted and assembled students committed to challenge Indian rule and thus the new political circle entered around the Students' Revolutionary Council setup by Syed Sarwar in 1966, they were talking about revolution and Zehgeer was tasked for giving maps and action plans and soon was acknowledged as the leader of Students' Revolutionary Council [Indian intelligence claim].

⁶⁹ . Source: Advocate Bashir Ahmad Wani, 2012

⁷⁰ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar, 2012

⁷¹ . Source: Abdul Rashid Dar, Founder Member, Young Men's League, 2012

In October 1966 Muhammad Yusuf Mir went to Pakistan again via Attari, Amritsar Punjab and were given some arms training with the code name Khalid Saleem, emphasis was laid on Azadi, Islam and Jihad, to the trainers view Azadi was accession to Pakistan but Maqbool used to say that it is complete independence, Mir came back along with two other colleagues in January 1967, here warrant was issued against Khalid Saleem because he had posted a letter to his close friend from Pakistan, master Ali Muhammad Sheikh of Gutligund^{xlvii} Verinag letter was brought for thorough investigation and Master Ali Muhammad was arrested, but he was not knowing anything about Khalid Saleem, later on police came to know that it was the code of Muhammad Yusuf. He went underground and again committed another big mistake, when he posted two letters one to his friend Muhammad Ashraf Batkoo, working in, Kolaba, Bombay[Mumbai] for Kashmiri arts— his family business, to send him his address an another to his friend master Ali Muhammad, but the letter to be posted to Ali, went to Batkoo while as the letter of Batkoo to master Ali Muhammad, police seized the letter as parcel of Ali Muhammad^{xlviii} was put to stringent surveillance⁷²!

Notes

- i. Anjuman's official organ is Muslim, paper is aimed at the eradication of social evils of superstition and preaching of Islam in its original form.
- ii. At Central jail Srinagar who had gone there to see the court proceedings against Abdul Qadeer, a non-Kashmiri from Amroha [present Uttar Pradesh], an employee [butler] to a British man . Qadeer voiced the grievances of Kashmiri Muslims at Khanqah-i-Moila, Srinagar. They were brutally dealt and ruthlessly fired at a pointblank range.
- iii. Jamaat-e Islami (JeI) of Jammu and Kashmir was established in 1946 by Sa'ad-ud -din Tarbali, headmaster of a government High School, Ghulam.Muhammad Ahrar[Shah] and Qari Said-ud-din, immediately joined by others, initially it was an independent organization and having no political or organizational connection with JeI[Hind]. Inactive from 1947-1952 and in 1953, it assumed a more independent identity and enacted its own constitution, then it completely severed its links with JeI(Hind) and JeI(Pakistan), focused on the propagation of puritan Islam, started chain of schools in Jammu and Kashmir to impart education. From 1952-1971, it tried to build up its cadre strength up to then did not participate in any election and from 1971-1987, participated actively in elections both in Assembly and Parliamentary at selected places. Moomin(Urdu) is its official organ.
- iv. Syed Mir Qasim said that Sardar Patil was also behind the scene and approached Sheikh Abdullah through G.M Bakshi. Source: Advocate Abdul Samad Tak of Verinag.
- v. However, as Punjabi notes that Sheikh Abdullah declared in a public meeting in September. 1947 that "Our first demand is complete transfer of power to the people in Kashmir. Representatives of the people in a democratic Kashmir will then decide whether the state should join India or Pakistan." Source:Riyaz Punjab 'Kashmir imbroglio: the socio-political roots', Contemporary South Asia, 4:1, pp.46,49, 1995.
- vi. In Kashmiri lexicon, person who was in British Army as recruit, used to be called as Rangrut.
- vii. Later married in Kashmir and then deported by Sheikh Abdullah government to Pakistan but Akram's wife and few months old female baby was not allowed to accompany him.
- viii. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah Signed the Register in Hindi.
- ix. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru (The first Prime Minister of Free India)(Speech in All India Congress Committee on July 9, 1951, Monday.
- x. He was arrested but managed to get released in the 1st stage.

⁷² . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Mir, 2012

- xi. By the orders of NC's high command, there was no election activity anywhere in the State. All the members were nominated by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah.
- xii. Excerpt of public speech by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, 10th April, 1952, Thursday at Rambir Singh Pora, Jammu.
- xiii. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, told in the Lok Sabha (Parliament) on June 26, 1952 and August 7, 1952.
- xiv. The unconditional support given to Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh by Dr. Abdul Majeed Sheikh and other top brass of Mujahid Home Front which gave a sort of confidence to Beigh but later on cheated by him. Source: Advocate. Abdul Samad Tak.
- xv. Formally into operation on 26th January 1957, Saturday.
- xvi. Address— President PF in Constituent Assembly on 24th October 1956, Wednesday, which appeared in official organ of P.F.- Mahaz.
- xvii. K.H Khurshid was the Personal Secretary of Quaid-e-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, from June 1944 to August 1947. Then he became the Personal Secretary of the Quaid-e-Azam in his official capacity as the Governor-General of Pakistan from 14th August 1947 till his death on the 11th September 1948. He took over as President of Azad Kashmir on the May 1, 1959, Friday and resigned on the 5th August 1964. He died on 11th March 1988 in a road accident while traveling in a public van from Gujrat (Pakistan) to Lahore. When he died he was living in a rented house.
- xviii. This was conceived by Molvi Muhammad Saeed Masoodi, who mysteriously made Molvi Muhammad Farooq (then a student) the President of Awami Action Committee and thereby revived the Sher-Bakra history. Qari Saif-Ud Din was also the member of the committee. First the name Action Committee was coined by Mustafa Alvi. Source: Prof. G.M Shad.
- xix. In May 1963 the Congress in New Delhi lost three important Parliamentary by-elections, in which a Union Minister was defeated. All India Congress Committee under Kamraj Plan, decided that some Congress Union Ministers and State Chief Ministers should resign and give all their time to a party work. The final selection was left to Jawahar Lal Nehru. After eleven years of continuous Prime Minister-ship of Jammu and Kashmir, Ghulam Muhammad Bakshi was entrapped skillfully and asked to tender a token resignation to strengthen Pt. J.L Nehru's hand.
- xx. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru deputed Lal Bahadur Shastri, who formed 16-member committee led by Molvi Saeed Masoodi, which also include Molvi Farooq, Syed Meruk Shah Kashani Advocate G.N Hagroo. Source: Prof. G.M Shad.
- xxi. Afterwards became lecturer in Physics.
- xxii. India received a terrible defeat in Sino-Indo War of 1962, now Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was of the opinion that a sort of confederation must be established with Pakistan, which can help in solving Kashmir issue with a new dimension other than UN and task for initiation was given to Sheikh Abdullah. It was Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah's fifth Day of Pak visit [27th May 1964, Wednesday, when Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru Prime Minister of India died], immediately Gulzareal Nanda was taken as caretaker P.M of India for few days and then Lal Bahadur Shastri took the charge of Indian Prime Minister, while as Nanda was given the portfolio of Indian Home Minister—who derailed the process started by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.
- xxiii. Referring to death of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru.
- xxiv. It is also an admitted fact that Mian Sarwar was the staunch supporter of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto—hanged on 3rd April 1979 in Pakistan— later mated Bhutto Memorial Trust in Srinagar as a mark of tribute to him.
- xxv. Ghulam Muhammad Sadiq did with an interior motive—to bury the N.C and a jolt to Ghulam Muhammad Bakshi, so that he may not be able to arrange a 'comeback' on the wings of N.C.
- xxvi. While Sheikh Abdullah's was returning from Hajj, Indian authorities arrested him on 8th May 1965.
- xxvii. Indian intelligence agencies in order to magnify their scanty work, did so, to deceive their higher authorities. Otherwise, there were no such cells, established by Pakistan, of course cells were operating but locally with the people involved from Kashmir on either side of CFL, as a part of anguish. Source: Muhammad Yusuf Mir[Verinag].

- xxviii. Even the top source for Indian intelligence in Mujahid Manzil [Molvi Saeed Masoodi] utterly failed to make arrest of Hayat Mir possible but on November 17, 1965, Wednesday, Hayat was arrested by police at Srinagar's famous Ahdoos Hotel, at that time he was unarmed. As Shaban Khanday, Samad Wani, Ghulam Nabi were arrested before, while as Sattar Khanday and Razak Wani were arrested on February 2, 1966, Wednesday by intelligence wing of police, who had come from PAK five days earlier. All of them use to support Hayat Mir for his clandestine operations in Kashmir, especially Budgam. Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar.
- xxix. Probably already in touch with armed volunteers, later on he went to Azad Kashmir on 25th October 1965 via Bandipora with Farooq Chesti to escape the arrest being wanted by police. Narrated by Ghulam Mustafa Alvi.
- xxx. Ghulam Mustafa Alvi even met Molvi Muhammad Farooq in this regard but told him to declare the source.
- xxxi. Guide to armed Volunteers.
- xxxii. Opposing Armed Rebellion. Narrated by Ghulam Mustafa Alvi.
- xxxiii. Narrated by Gulzaman Khan, Kalay Khan and Abdul Majeed (all from Kotli, Azad Kashmir), Gibraltar volunteers, in Srinagar Central Jail, 1965 to one of the key member of YL.
- xxxiv. Story narrated by Jumus Khan, a volunteer of Pakistan hailing from Kotli Azad Kashmir under- trial in Central Jail Srinagar, 1972 to one of the Al` Fatah detainee.
- xxxv. On 10th January 1966, Monday the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, who had met in Tashkent at the invitation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, announced their agreement that the withdrawal of all armed personnel of both sides to the positions they had held prior to 5 August 1965 should be completed by 25 February 1966 and that both sides should observe the terms of the ceasefire on the ceasefire line.
- xxxvi. Narrated by Abdul Majeed Jild-Saaz and Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Baba.
- xxxvii. It was the handiwork of those element who wanted to crush all possible uprising.
- xxxviii. Muhammad Yusuf Mir is Editor, Weekly Urdu Sabzaar, Published from Ang.
- xxxix. Maqbool Butt born on 18th February 1938 from a peasant family in Trehgam village Tehsil Handwara, district Kupwara. After completing his secondary school certificate, Maqbool Butt moved on to St. Joseph College in Baramulla. This was a private missionary college. Here he gained his first degree (BA) in history and political science. For a short period of time Maqbool Butt severed as a teacher (HM) in Darsgahi Islami (Jamaat-e- Islami; High School Arwanii (Bijbehara) in 1965-59. Then went to other side of LOC [Azad Kashmir]. First and foremost problem before Maqbool Butt in Pakistan was to continue his education and at the same time find a job to meet the expenses; without that "it was hard to live in Pakistan". Therefore, joined a weekly Urdu magazine, as sub-editor and started working as a journalist - did his MA (from Peshawar university) in Urdu literature and worked with 'Anjam' till to the start of full time politics. He was a friend of renowned Urdu poet Ahmad Faraaz.
- xl. D.P Dhar tried his level best to frame Bakshi in NLF case.
- xli. Ab. Rashid Kabli contested 1967 Assembly Elections for Safakakdal Constituency and managed to get only about three dozen votes. While as Ali Muhammad Naik revolted from PF and contested the elections for Tral Constituency, and got elected. Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh used to call him Kanz-e-Khar.
- xlii. Abdul Rashid Dar maintained that the procession took place in 1967, after Assembly Elections but was not sure about the event.
- xliii. YML was a part of parallelism to counter YL and minimise its control on student community, supported by Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh. Source: Advocate Bashir Ahmad Wani.
- xliv. Students Federation was responsible for looking after the welfare of student community, while as Young Men's League was to engage and recruit other youth.
- xlv. First worked as District President for YML but came to limelight in 1968, when he read an appreciation note, before Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, who at that time had come to Sheirbagh Anantnag to address a huge gathering along with Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh and thus Dar was elevated by the organization.
- xlvi. Later shifted his loyalty and actively worked for India.

- xlvi. A tributary of Vitasta as per Hindu mythology.
- xlvi. Made the arrest of Muhammad Yousuf Mir and Muhammad Asharaf Batkoo possible in late October 1967 at New Delhi and Bombay, both Batkoo and Mir were brought to Taliya Manzil or Red 16 for 6 months, then shifted to Bagh-e Mehtab for more six months and finally to Srinagar Central jail, where Maqbool Butt was already lodged, Mir was released in late 1968 or beginning of 1970.

References

Chapter 4

Making of Al'Fatah

By December 1966, Zehgeer and his group initiated a modest project launch, mailing posters bearing a map of India with Jammu and Kashmir marked as a separate entity in red ink. Sent out to government officials, politicians and influential private individuals. The “Red Kashmir” posters created a minor sensation, particularly since elections to Jammu and Kashmir Assembly were scheduled to be held in 1967.

On the night of 3rd February, 1967, Friday, 10.00 PM the sentry, Constable Charan Dass of 45 Battalion (Border Security Force) at Nawakadal Bridge was assaulted with daggers and after inflicting injuries on his chest snatched away his 303 Rifle loaded with 5 rounds. Sentry screamed, “*Kaka Mein Mara Gaya [Kaka, I have been killed]*,” calling, an associate posted in the vicinity for security. The sentry later on succumbed to his injuries and claimed by Red Kashmir — reportedly carried out by Zehgeer himself, accompanied by Syed Sarwar¹ — were charged for murdering Indian Security person at Nawakadal, along with, Nazir Ahmad Wani and Fazal-ul- Haq Qureshi, Syed Sarwar, Muhammad Ashraf Baba, Abdul Hamid Shah and Ghulam Nabi Hajam² when Muhammad Farooq Shah [Farooq Rehmani] was caught by police, his interrogation soon led the Jammu and Kashmir Police to Muhammad Aslam Wani and Zahoor Ahmad Shahdad, and the exposure of connection of them with Red Kashmir. Syed Sarwar who was in Delhi was also arrested, several key members of Red Kashmir went underground— GRZ floated an idea to launch an indigenous armed struggle, just like Al` Fatah, later arrested by Police, he had been successful for getting some support from likeminded friends in Pakistan and received some kind of tips related to Guerilla warfare mainly on behavioural sciences (war psychology), first by Fazal Haq Qureshi@ Faiz and Nazir Ahmad Wani@Asad, who went to Pakistan, in a manner not to involve Pakistan, as a state backing armed struggle of Kashmir – soon started formulating armed resistance cells in Kashmir.

By September 1967, again Red Kashmir had recovered enough confidence to resume operations. In the same month Nazir Ahmad Wani and Syed Sarwar crossed CFL into Pakistan, travelling through the mountains of Bandipora with the aid of Mir Ahmad Gujjar, both men were trained in the use of small arms.

In October 1967 Jammu Kashmir Revolutionary Movement, a low profile political resistance organization was launched in Srinagar.

Nazir Ahmad Wani and Syed Sarwar both returned across CFL in November 1967, this time across Sialkot—Ramgarh border in Jammu region with the aid of Nazir Ahmad Malik. They started recruiting youth in the first instance, six more went into the manifold of Red Kashmir, like Muhammad Ashraf Manhas, Iftikar Ahmad Paul, Sahibzada Muhammad Amin, who also went to Pakistan for training.

In April 1968, Zehgeer was released from prison, Abdul Rashid Dar met Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer at Taj Hotel, Srinagar, where they informally got introduced to each

¹ . A close associate of Zehgeer.

² . Source: Fazal Haq Qureshi.

other. Later on Zehgeer met Dar at his residence in Bul Bul Nowgam Anantnag and motivated him to support the armed resistance movement politically to be started **later**³. Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh@Papaji, leader and President of the Plebiscite Front met Ghulam Rasool Zegeer in the same month, facilitated by Abdul Rashid Dar and promised full support to him but he was not clear about Zehgeer's intentions [Armed struggle]. Then GRZ and Abdul Dar use to meet quiet often. Sometimes at the residence of Abdul Rashid Dar and mostly at the annexe of Chowalgam, Kulgam, where Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer was putting up as a contractor. It is place where from Al Fatah like module emerged and Gulzar Ahmad Khaki— the senior most member of YML— was the first recruit of this armed resistance group in South Kashmir, introduced by Abdul Rashid Dar.

In July 1968 Nazir Ahmad Wani travelled across the Ramgarh—Sialkot border into Pakistan for the second time, now with Zehgeer himself, which paved a way for the establishment of new armed struggle in Kashmir. So, late 1968 an armed resistance group just like Al' Fatah of Palestine— totally indigenous in character, under the commandership of Ghulam Rasool **Zehgeer** (GRZ) alias Rehman alias Maqbool and alias Gaznavi in Pakistan with its headquarters at Barsoo Awantipora of South Kashmir as safe house called Shalimar. The modus operandi of this low profile armed resistance movement was to highlight Kashmir issue internationally by giving it an indigenous shade without involvement of Pakistan, having its own guidelines, preamble, finances and most importantly political moves hoping to seek diplomatic support of Pakistan and its friendly countries. Much focused on right to self-determination but decide later about the future allegiance or **independence**⁴ ...[sic]..! Shortly after their return from Pakistan, Zehgeer had brought two new recruits on board, Muhammad Aslam Wani and Zahoor Ahmad Shahdad, the two planned torob rifles from an armoury used to store rifles for the National Cadet Corps, a government run organization that provides elementary military training to student volunteers. In the event of, the Islamia College Dacoity, as it came to be known. Youth who attacked the security guard was stabbed in the ensuing melee, and his cries of distress attracted the police. One of the attacker, a college student, Muhammad Asharaf Baba was arrested. **Here is the preamble of this armed organization.[Excerpt]**—"The freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir is having peculiar character, embedded with religious, cultural, geographical and `Nationalistic Maxims`, to upkeep our prestige and honour as Algerians, Palestinians and others have done. The battle between India and Kashmiris is like an elephant and a mosquito. An elephant is a huge animal [with strong body, large tusks, long trunk and broad ears], is distracted by a small mosquito. The mosquito does not have any weight before giant elephant. Commonly the combat between small creature and a large animal is unequal and funny. But mosquito engages elephant[stealthily, secretly and furtively—to others it looks like a lame man attempting to scale Mount Everest]. But mosquito maintains its cool, perseverance and dedication tries to overcome impediments and raises hurdles in the race of running down mammoth elephant. India having military might, powerful diplomatic channels is of course like an elephant. In case of guerilla warfare—were a

³ . Source: Abdul Rahsid Dar Ex. Chairman Legislative Council.

⁴ . Source: Fazal Haq Qureshi.

small group engages enemy with much larger capability and fights armies much bigger in size— main objective of guerilla is to engage enemy and secure political motives, which may include political ideology, reestablishment of lost nationhood or fight against oppression and exploitation. The guerilla tries to win his political motives by operating and acting on three fronts—political, military and economic. If only five percent of the population supports the resistance struggle, it will yield hundred percent results, however education and health services should not get affected and thus excluded from the ambit of resistance struggle in terms of strikes etc. [sic]⁵.

Guerilla warfare in Kashmir is a four staged process— “Initial stage is a painstaking process, recruitment, training, collection of information and setting up of an organizational structure, as guerilla warfare teaches us that anybody whosoever has failed so far achieving their objectives and aims through this type of war has failed due to the fact that he has left the initial stage incomplete.

The success stories before us will be the defeat of United States of America in Vietnam which is in offing, as they have successfully completed their initial stage, similarly Palestinian struggle will yield results as Yasir Arafat also has also made its cadre to complete the initial stage, Ernesto ‘Che’ Guevara’s campaign in Bolivia has failed because they have organisedly achieved passed their initial stage. As a part of guerilla warfare some safe houses and hideouts are to be established in various parts of urban Kashmir.

1st stage is civil disobedience, nonpayment of taxes and making political wing visible slowly, there should be a political party, based on nonviolence for a particular time, even to pressurise

Indian political forces in Jammu and Kashmir for opposing Indian rule. The military strategy is used to usher forward political aim and diplomatic channels, used to propagate and win support of global community for the cause, seeing that no enemy has been overthrown by political means only. If India is to be defeated, there should be a sustained campaign of economic damage, targeting Airports, Railway lines and Industrial **estates**ⁱⁱ for this purpose movie theatre with tobacconists and liquor shops must be closed, since major portion of the profits go towards India in terms of taxes. A piece of iron inserted in a machine to make it inoperable, or sugar stuffed into the fuel tank of engine, also had the potential means to weaken India economically. So tax protests, protests by unemployed youth and demands by bureaucrats for higher pay all had a role in larger political struggle creating unrest.

2nd stage is to create panic among armed forces in Kashmir, laying light ambushes and throwing hand grenades occasionally on them but without any civilian damage. To beat India militarily it is necessary to study India’s weaknesses,so we have to be fully equipped with the complete information of the locations of military depoes [depots], ammunition depoes [depots], ordinance factories, petrol depose [depots] and armed forces and their number. We have to know what are the different tactical nos [numbers] being used in different coys [companies], and code signs and code nos. of different divs[divisions], brgs [brigades] and bns [battalions].

We have also to know fully what are [the] different roads, bridges and national highways most important from the military point of view, so that at any odd time we can damage

⁵ . Source: Nizam.

these and make the movement of the enemy impossible. After having such information, we can make the enemy hurt in all respects, whenever he may desire to attack on us as stated by Praveen Swami in his book, India Pakistan and the Secret Jihad taking quotes from intelligence reports.

The composition of army in every part of the world is like this: 10+1 (Army personnel) construct one section, 3 sections of army make one platoon, 3 platoons of army compose one company, 6 companies of army form one battalion, 3 battalions of army build one brigade, 3 brigades of army create one division, least but not last 3 divisions of army put together in a one **core**⁶. [The structure of divisions in Indian army is 7000-12000, while as in China it is approximately 20,000, although not found in preamble, told by Zehgeer to Nizam] So to know composition of the army, it is just like a bible for an armed guerilla. In this stage ambushes were proposed.

3rd Stage [blueprint of the organization] suggested and recommend for the raids upon depots and cantonments.

4th and the final stage was to make attacks on large military convoys, depots and even to army garrisons from the base camp, rather a complete war.”

Kashmiri youth who is the future of our nation are to be made self-reliant and they are to be imparted tradecraft skills. Therefore, chain of retail outlets and some productive units are to be established to support **economy**⁷.

After establishing firm base in Kashmir with the start of all the forms of resistance to challenge New Delhi rule, if they [India] takes action against us it will be the action against whole nation thereby creating anger among the common masses, henceforth we must act as shepherds, if the violation is done on the herd of people, it will tantamount highest degree of anguish against India, which will serve the cause of freedom movement and will involuntarily involve common stock of people towards resistance movement.”

If Kashmir is recognized as an Independent state, there are at least twenty countries ready to accept us internationally[sic] including Saudi **Arabia**⁸

The training pattern of Al' Fatah was unique in nature, sometimes Rehman use to accompany his new recruits to watch films in a local cinema of Islamabad [Anantnag], like Shaheed and Ankein both in Hindi. This was the part of the training to inculcate patriotism among Kashmiri youth, preparatory course and were asked to read books like Jihad-e-Islam in Urdu written by Khalil Hamidi, and emphasis was laid on offering five time prayers. Sometimes, he [Rehman] used to ask recruits to collect a material at a specific point or drop, just keep engaged and create curiosity factor, the material collected or dropped at explicit spots was sometimes true and sometimes false in terms of content, to which they later on—came to know, was an activity— called false and true drop— a part of training, which they [Al' Fatah men] continued to impart to new **recruits**⁹. So, the scheme of recruitment was closely followed with a core of highly trained

⁶ .ibid.

⁷ . Source: Fazal Haq Qureshi.

⁸ . Source: Nizam .

⁹ . ibid.

persons building a base of educated mainly urban youth and then opening the doors for cadre from the countryside.

Some training tips were:—

- 1) **Need to know:** Guerrilla warfare is not new; its well documented history stretches back through time. The term “need to know”, particularly those related to the military or espionage, describes the restriction of data which is considered very sensitive. Under need-to-know restrictions, even if one has all the necessary official approvals (such as a security clearance) to access certain information, one would not be given access to such information, or read into a clandestine operation especially in guerilla warfare.
- 2) **Need not to know:** The guerrilla is always on the offense. To be successful he needs surprise, mobility, exact knowledge of the enemy, determination, fire action and shock action. And these, as in warfare generally, will be determined by his armament, his training, his morale, his planning, and co-ordination. In guerilla tactics, an active member must not exceed the limit of information about organization and should not enquire from its immediate boss on the organization's planning unless told as a part of ‘need not to know’ process.
- 3) **Know yourself :** You must know what you are able to do and what you are not able to do. You must know the things you do well and the things you do not know well. This requires that you are completely honest with yourself which is sometimes very hard to do. An experienced soldier will know all about their abilities and equipment before they rush off to war. Soldiers receive extensive training in various weapons and hand-to-hand combat in addition to a vast array of knowledge in related fields, similar is the case with guerrilla warfare.
- 4) **Understand your weaknesses and try to overcome them:** In order to know your weaknesses, you must get honest with yourself and listen intently to your boss. You must look at yourself realistically. Once the weakness is identified seek guidance from your trainer about turning that weakness into strength. A quick little phrase that might help remind you of this is “Know it, Grow it, Show it.” Which is the only tip to overcome your weaknesses.
- 5) **Be inconspicuous:** A guerilla is always on offense and he can perform best if remains invisible to the public domain. Sometimes he behaves like a Robin Hood but is always a sheer Samaritan in its actions and deeds, so far as freedom struggle is concerned.
- 6) **Create self defence within your mind :** Your emotional state is conditioned by your preparation. Effective self-defence training requires a realistic assessment and evaluation of your emotional state in assault situations not simply instruction of *what to do*. It is your emotional state that determines your ability to execute the actions of disrupting your attacker, and thereby creating the opportunity to escape and disengage, which is the natural instinct and the best defence pedagogy.
- 7) **Preplan and online plan :** A preplan is an activity or its blue print, containing detailed information about a facility or activity that allows people or first responders (police, firefighters, armed freedom fighters etc.) to quickly and effectively respond to any crisis situation at that location, rather a detailed assortment of critical information about your facility that is assembled as part of

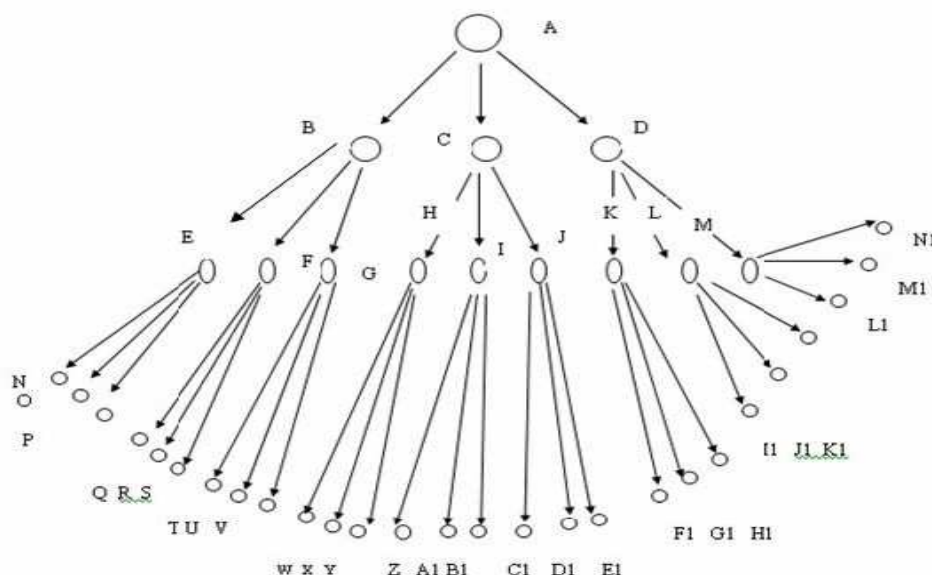
the pre-incident planning process. While as online plan makes a person especially a guerilla to take a decision in a situation which has proved otherwise to the preplan.

- 8) **Lack of Inertia:** This tendency is to resist changes in the state of motion and is described as inertia. If one lacks it then he ceases to stop the activity, it seems to him that if there is no sunrise or sunset to give him a sense of direction. There is just he, and this gray place, absolute solitude. Some Al Fatah men were calling it as drag of inertia.
- 9) **Interrogation:** It is a process of questioning adopted by persons especially police to seek information from a person by using language, soft, harsh or third degree method beating burning to bring an individual under psychological trauma so that he or she starts telling or leaking all the secrets.
- 10) **False demonstration:** An inaccurate or erroneous description of an individual or item or to beat an individual in interrogation centres or concentration camps with the impression that the actual person might crack or share a kind of information with the person upon which false demonstration has been executed.
- 11) **Change of Attitude:** Attitudes can be changed through persuasion and attitude change is a response to communication. Experimental research into the factors that can affect the persuasiveness of a message include:
 - ❖ **Target Characteristics:** These are characteristics that refer to the person who receives and processes a message. One such trait is intelligence - it seems that more intelligent people are less easily persuaded by one-sided messages.
 - ❖ **Source Characteristics:** The major source characteristics are expertise, trustworthiness and interpersonal attraction or attractiveness. The credibility of a perceived message has been found to be a key variable here; if one reads a report about health and believes it came from a professional medical journal, one may be more easily persuaded than if one believes it is from a popular newspaper.
 - ❖ **Message Characteristics:** The nature of the message plays a role in persuasion. Sometimes presenting both sides of a story is useful to help change attitudes. Messages can have;
 - **Cognitive Route:** A message can appeal to an individual's cognitive evaluation to help change an attitude. This usually applicable to teenagers and can be successfully executed upon the student community.
 - **Central route:** The persuasion the individual is presented with the data and motivated to evaluate the data and arrive at an attitude changing conclusion.
 - **Peripheral Route:** Helps in attitude change, the individual is encouraged to not look at the content but at the source.
- 12) **Cover:** In guerilla combat, the concept of cover refers to anything which is capable of physically protecting an individual from enemy fire.
 - a) **True Cover:** It refers to guerilla warfare, wherein, the offense cells make covers to protect them and is a part of the psychological combat.

- b) **False Cover:** It refers to positive checks within the guerilla organization and mainly a part of diversion process to befool enemy.
 - c) **Back stop:** To plan a foolproof cover during any kind of activity or operation to evade exposure or arrest.
 - d) **Individual Security :** Every society starts from an individual rather a person, same is the case with guerilla organization, because person matters in the warfare, henceforth every step must be taken calculated for the armed guerilla's security.
 - e) **Organizational Security :** Organization is the collection selected people with common aim— to defeat enemy. Therefore, organization matters more than anything else in guerilla warfare.
- 13) **Camouflage:** Camouflage is the method which allows an otherwise visible organism or object to remain indiscernible from the surrounding environment. Successful camouflage became an essential aspect of modern military tactics since the increase in accuracy and rate of fire of weapons at the end of the nineteenth century. The first recorded large-scale use of camouflage was during World War I. At the beginning of the war the French experienced heavy losses because the troops wore red trousers as part of their uniform. The French established a section DE camouflage in 1915. The camouflage experts were, for the most part, painters, sculptors, theatre set artists and such. This led to a new horizon blue uniform and various camouflage paint schemes for trucks, guns and planes. Units of Camoufleurs who were artists, designers, or architects in civilian life were also largely used by the forces of the UK and the US and to a lesser extent by Germany (see, for example, Lozenge), Italy and Russia. And most successfully demonstrated by Omar Mukhtar in Libya against the occupation of Italy, in Algeria against France and in Vietnam against USA.
 - 14) **Surveillance:** The recruits are trained how to checkmate enemy and keep constant vigil on their movements and to prevent yourself from their watch or surveillance.
 - 15) **Punctuality:** To give accurate timing to your companions , a sort of commitment and a bigger dive towards personal security.
 - 16) **Character:** Life is always a cavernous driving aspiration to achieve honour and dignity for the nation. It is mainly determined by one's etiquettes and the company a person keeps. A freedom zealot [armed guerilla] must have a good reputation in the community and should be having a leadership quality, not to break a promise of commitment, a role model to the younger—a referential point for others.
 - 17) **Fear from getting caught :** A person involved in any clandestine activity has a fear, always lurking in the mind that anybody who looks at him knows about his/her activities, in normal routine it is not so. As a result he/she must come out from this fear and create confidence within.
 - 18) **Watch Guard from Incriminating Material :** Destroy all the incriminating material, as a part of self-defence and do not leave any proof for the enemy.
- The training was categorized into two sections: Organizational Security and Personal Security)**

Guerilla organizational order

(Compartmentalization Al' Fatah)



Combinations: Upward down, multiplex— down to upward maintained singly but the decisions were on the basis of sequential interdependence :-

A> AB> BE> BF> BG>ABE> ABF> ABG>EN>EO>EP>BEN>BEO> BEP>ABEN
>ABEO>ABEP:F Q>FR>FS>BFQ>B FR>DFS>ABFQ> ABFR>ABFS:GT>
GU>GV>BGT>BGU>

BGV>ABGT>ABGU>ABGV (**First Guerilla cell**).

A> AC> CH> CI > CJ> H W > H X > H Y
>CHW>CHX>CHY>ACHW>ACHY>IZ>IA1>IB1>CIZ>CIA1>C I B 1 > A C > A C I Z > A
C I A 1 > A C I B 1 > J C 1 > JD1>JE1>CJC1>CJD1>CJE1>ACJC1>ACJD1>ACJE1
(**Second Guerilla cell**).

A>AD>DK>DL>DM>DF1>DKG1KH1>DKF1>DKG1>DKH1>ADKF1>ADKG1>ADKH!
>LI1LJ1>LK1>DLI1>DKJ1>DLK1>ADL1>ADLJ1>AD>LK1>ADLJI>ADLK1>ML1>MM1>
MN1>DML1> DMM1>DMN1>ADML1> ADMM1>ADMNI (**Third Guerilla cell**) and so
on..... !

Every recruit in the organization was codified by A[Rehman or Maqbool].The codes where read in reverse sequence A as Z, B as Y, C as X, D as W, E as V, F as U, G, as T, H as S, I as R,J as Q, K as P, L as O and M as N, suppose Maqbool, it was written as **Nzjyllo**, and recruitment was done in a way that the person's back ground profile was brought into account and the association with whom he was keeping, preference was given to that person, who was having more than two brothers. Top recruits were asked to write with lemon water with less intensity of ink so that it will be read only under illumination tube lights put **behind**¹⁰ with the policy of all equal and no Boss.

¹⁰ . Source: Gulzar Ahmad Khaki.

Judge, Nilkant Ganjoo in a special court issued death sentence for Maqbool Butt on the charges of murdering Amar Chand and Saturday 17th August 1968 issued Black Warrant for the hanging.

In 1968, 10th October¹¹ Thursday at Srinagar, State Peoples Convention was called by PF, in which Jai Prakash Narain participated to hear from various political parties of Kashmir about the viable solution, Young Men's League was represented by Abdul Rashid Dar, who focused on de-accession [demand Right to Self- Determination] and solving the problems of student community, PF by Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh, laid emphasis on restoration of autonomy, Jamaat-e-Islami by Qari Saif-Ud-Din¹², who was not allowed to speak full as, in the beginning, he spoke against, for the creation of secular State¹². However, Jai Prakash Narain made the comments in his speech that solution of Kashmir is to be found within the framework of Indian domain or constitution, and most importantly that after 1965 Indo-Pak War, Pakistan has ceased to be party to Kashmir dispute which irked Kashmiri youth rather a sense of resentment aroused among the Kashmiri patriots. In reaction to J.P. Narain's avowal, Young Men's League (Students Federation) issued a press statement on 11th October, Friday through its Chief Organiser, Abdul Rashid Dar, strongly condemning political broker sent by the leaders of the Indian Government. The text reads as:—

The Jammu & Kashmir Young Men's League (Students Federation) expresses its grave concern over the statement made by Shri J.P. Narain in State Peoples Convention, Srinagar in which he among other things said that after 1965 Indo-Pak War Pakistan has ceased to be party to Kashmir dispute. We are at loss to understand as to how and on what grounds Mr. Narain has made this statement which is absolutely incorrect and far from the reality. The disturbances which took place in 1965 was the direct result of India's shameful and imperialistic measure to further integrate and Indianise Kashmir. In fact, the 1965 disturbances were the demonstrations of extreme resentment of the people of Jammu & Kashmir against India's colonial policy with regard to Kashmir. That was an attempt to liberate Kashmir from Indian domination. To divert the disturbances in Kashmir, India fanned atmosphere of 1965 Indo-Pak War. After the War India signed Tashkent Declaration which was followed by Indo-Pak agreements. Under those agreements Indians ceded Haji Peer area of Kashmir to Pakistan and in return got Chamb area of Kashmir. Then the commanders-in-Chief of India and Pakistan agreed to minimize the number of their armies in Kashmir. The U.N Military Observers are still posted in this state after 1965 as they were from 1948 cease-fire agreement. The Kashmir problem is as usual on U.N agenda. One third of J&K territory is as usual under the control of Pakistan. In spite of this Mr. J.P. Narain is saying that Pakistan is not a party to Kashmir dispute. It seems that he believes in Nazi Germany tactics of saying lies[telling lies] in the hope that repeated telling of lies will be accepted by the people as truth. Pakistan being a party to Kashmir is as clear and true as the sun rises from east. We have a great respect for Mr. J.P. Narain. We are sorry to say that by his such a statement, strengthens the doubts, crowding in the minds of

¹¹ . Citation needed for accuracy

¹² . Nizam.

Kashmiris that Mr. J.P Narain has come to Kashmir as a political broker sent by crafty and unscrupulous leaders of Indian Government. Mr. J.P Narain must understand that Kashmir is a human and international problem having three parties India—Pakistan—Kashmir. The trump card of deciding this issue lies in the hands of people of the state living on both sides of ceasefire line(CFL), any compromise or settlement without the cooperation of Pakistan is meaningless and can never be accepted by the people of Kashmir. Nor can there be any lasting peace in Kashmir unless the Kashmir problem is settled on the basis The Indian leaders must realize that the patience of the people of Jammu & Kashmir in general and the students and young generation in particular has exhausted. If sense of justice and humanity does not prevail upon the Government of India then people of Kashmir living on both sides of ceasefire line will let with no alternative but to rise like Algerians and liquidate Indian colonialism or be perished with it. The whole sub-continent of India and Pakistan shall have to face the horrors of a decisive war starting from Kashmir.

It is high[time] for India to utilize the precious services of Sher-i- Kashmir [Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah] and settle this international problem of Kashmir, honourably and equitably with the cooperation of Pakistan also.

The Young Men's League (Students Federation) of Jammu & Kashmir expects Mr. J.P Narain to understand the realities impartially and use his high influence for settling the Kashmir problem with the cooperation of Pakistan so that the reign of peace and prosperity may be drawn on the subcontinent permanently.

And ending with :

*“ LONG LIVE SHER-I-KASHMIR
LONG LIVE UNITED KASHMIR
LONG LIVE WORLD PEACE”*

Breakaway group of Young Men's League(Srinagar faction) in 1968 was represented by Mufti Nazim, besides several others, but lasted in just few days¹³ of right to self-determination in consultation and agreement with Pakistan.

In Srinagar Central Jail Maqbool Butt started planning to escape from the prison, Tuesday 22nd October 1968^{iv}.

On 13th July 1969, Sunday, a well-defined constitution of Young Men's League was promulgated declaring Abdul Rashid Dar, the President of Party and Sofi Sana Ullah as the general secretary.

The excerpt of the constitution was:—

The Aims and Objectives of Young Men's League (Students Federation) under section 5 of its constitution.

- i) To organize the students and youth community on the sound lines which will ensure their healthy growth as members of the society.
- ii) To educate them about the problems which the students and youth are facing.
- iii) To educate its members on the live problems facing the nation.
- iv) To mobilize public opinion in support of above aims.
- v) To strive to tackle and resolve the difficulties that student community is facing.

¹³ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar.

- vi) To help the students in securing admissions in various institutions ;to help the deserving ones to get scholarships, stipends and other financial assistances and amenities.
- vii) To strive to have educational systems so reformed so as to bring it in accordance with the needs of the present times.
- viii) To bring up such changes in the syllabi and such formats in the curricula as would make the student community a dynamic, constructive force in the nation after they leave educational institutions.
- ix) To bring about necessary changes in the system of examinations so as to make these examinations a real test of students ability; and so as to save student community from frustrations and wastage of time and energy that the present system involves.
- x) To secure students representations in university senates ;educational boards and other similar forums.

Section 6

The Jammu and Kashmir Young Men's League (Students Federation) shall take all legitimate steps for the liberation of the nation from political domination of India so as to provide the opportunity of deciding its own future by an impartial plebiscite.

Section 7

The Jammu and Kashmir Young Men's League (Students Federation) shall take part in all legitimate activities towards the liberation from economic exploitation of peasants; labourers and other exploited classes.

Section 18

The Jammu and Kashmir Young Men's League (Students Federation) shall have friendly relations generally with all People's organizations whose aims and objectives are alike or akin or comfortable with the aims and objectives of this organization. On any issue this organization can have formal alliance with such an organization as referred to in forgoing.

Section 21

(a) The Jammu and Kashmir Young Men's League (Students Federation) shall take lively interest in outstanding problems of the nations of the world.

(b) In particular the organization shall keep itself informed and express its collective will in regard to international problems arising from domination of one country over the other in political and economic field.

By the active persuasion as claimed by Muhammad Yusuf Mir[Verinag] in August 1969 Bashir Ahmad Kirmani, Dr. Ghulam Qadir Wani and Advocate Muhammad Afzal [Baramulla] came under the Influence of YML¹⁴

And in late September 1969, Nissar Hussain Mir and Bashir Ahmad Zargar were asked to report at Hazuri Bagh Srinagar to come with edibles for three days, who reported as per the directions, where they had the glimpse of Maqbool@GRZ. Then by a sign language, both followed up to S.R.T.C yard, where they saw two persons, Muhammad Sayeed Khan and Gulzar Ahmad Khaki and further two more persons joined them not

¹⁴ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Mir[Verinag].

known [Muhammad Iqbal Agoo and Abdul Hai Ganai@ Aslam]. Then all arranged bus tickets for Raithan Budgam and boarded an SRTC bus, and directed by GRZ to sit in two seaters at three separate places, Rehman sat in the back seat. Then the bus started plying, after crossing Budgam it was stopped. A man entered into the bus had a formal look, and came down just after a short spell of time later on one of the passenger said ' CID woul',[man] from intelligence, latter, bus dropped them at Raithan stop. All were directed to follow GRZ and introduced each other in a forest and then again move ahead throughout the night. GRZ lit torch three times, he was reciprocated in the same fashion. Two persons namely Saleem Jahangir Khan and Nazir Ahmad Wani were introduced to them as trainers for imparting hill training and how to survive without food in the jungle, after spending three days of training all came back¹⁵!

Just like Al` Fatah militant struggle was peculiar in nature, it resorted to two robberies to raise finances for keeping the struggle running, because Pakistan has put the conditions of financial and armed support, if they[Al` Fatah people] support accession with Pakistan, which was rejected by Zehgeer and other part was not to involve Pakistan in the resistance struggle and to press for Right to Self-Determination [complete freedom of Kashmir] through armed struggle, to which we came to know in jail¹⁶, so on 2nd April, 1970, Thursday at Pulwama, where they whisked away Rupees seventy two thousand, seven hundred and forty three, and eight six paise (72743.86INR), the salary of teachers to which they purchased land at Barsoo, and have taken away just 65,000 only, with the details as:-

100x100(4 bundles) =40,000(INR) Fresh currency

10x100(20 bundles)=20,000(INR)(Semi Fresh)

5x100(10 bundles)=5,000(INR)(Almost old)

Persons who took part in Pulwama robbery were Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, Farooq Ahmad Bhat and Muhammad Iqbal Hashia who were acquainted with the operation of arms and were assisted by Nisar Hussain Mir, Hameed-Ullah Bhat, Bashir Ahmad Bhat, Gh. Hassan Shaksaz, Muhammad Saleem Gilkar, Muhammad Iqbal Beg, Muhammad Iqbal Sheikh, Muhammad Sayeed Khan and Gull Muhammad Mistri [Rafiqi] as mechanic to cut the safe, taken on next day. Names of those people who were active with CPI(ML) in Kashmir, like Chaman Lal, Janki Nath, Yusuf Tarigami and several others as a part of cover, taught in training sessions¹⁷!

Out of this money as a part of the plan an amount of 10,000(INR) was spent on developing long-term cover businesses—Pir Gull Muhammad—a member of the organization from Bejbehara established a poultry farm, so as to offer jobs for organizational members who were financially weak and to serve as a hideout also. Similarly, a cafeteria was stipulated on an amount of 2,000 (INR) at Doda by Abdul Hai Baderwahi, with two purposes behind it one to give job and to generate finances for the

¹⁵ . Source: Nizam.

¹⁶ . Source: Safdar.

¹⁷ . Source: Nizam.

organization, most importantly act as a link between Kashmir and Jammu **provinces**¹⁸ and an amount of 6,000 (INR) was given to Abdul Rashid Dar for making Young Men's League more effective at political front.

There was an alliance between the armed resistance organization(just like Al' Fatah) and PF but not in terms of operations, a compulsion for Plebiscite Front because this armed resistance group was likely to emerge as the tour de force, Abdul Rashid Dar [Young Men's League (Students Organization)] acted as an important link between Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh and Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, and first meeting between the two was arranged at Chashim-a-Shahi in the middle of April 1970, the mode was tête-à-tête¹⁹.

It was late April 1970 when Abdul Rashid **Dar**^v was coming in the vehicle [jeep] of Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh at Srinagar Lal Chowk he came down from the vehicle, went into the shop of horticulture department owned by government came back and told Beigh that he had to gift a box of apples to Vice Chancellor of Kashmir University then the jeep came up towards Anantnag, reached Barsoo, Pulwama, he [Dar] asked the driver to stop the vehicle, to purchase a wooden box for apples to be gifted to Vice Chancellor of Kashmir University.It led to several qualms among the top Al' Fatah cadre for leaking the **secret**²⁰. But next day Zehgeer reported to the residence of Abdul Rashid at Bulbul Nowgam, **Anantnag**²¹. It was Abdul Rashid Dar who conveyed the news to Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh at his Srinagar residence about the Pulwama robbery, and claimed that he [Dar] had discussed it with Zehgeer, probably Beigh was in know of the whole **episode**²². The issue was revealed in a manner that PF, President had taken a nap on a sofa at his residence, Dar said to Beigh that he has to disclose something unusual before him. Beigh closed both of his ears by his two hands saying 'I have not to hear anything' laughingly, told Dar to vomit, YML, President narrated the tale of Pulwama dacoity in response he [Beigh] said that he was having doubt about it and ensured him for the legal **support**²³.

Several proposals were put forth to name this armed organization like Al' Fatah, Hizbullah, Liberation Army etc. even Al Barq, which was out rightly rejected by Rehman saying that this kind of militant group is in offing from Kashmir to sabotage the resistance struggle, already Sardar Qayoom Khan of Azad Kashmir in late 1968 or 1969 announced the formation of Al- Mujahideen armed group, with more than 0.1 million

¹⁸ . Source: Fazal Haq Qureshi.

¹⁹ . Source: Abdul Rashid Dar.

²⁰ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Mir.

²¹.Source: Abdul Rashid.

²² . ibid.

²³ . ibid.

recruits are ready to cross CFL, as a part of psychological warfare— in the counter move India floated the chitchats that in Kashmir, there are several groups indulged in arson [Nar Tsoor 'Arson Thieves'] prompted some sporadic incidents of fire, which continued till mid-1970, as a result common Kashmiris in all the four, even to some areas of Jammu province formed Anti Arson committees to keep constant vigil on every passerby especially late night in every hamlet, Mohalla, town and city²⁴. In 1970(August-September) some members of CPIML, were arrested and released after six months on the suspicion of being involved in Pulwama robbery case and in 1971 and were again arrested and then released^{vi}. Some of the prominent members of CPI[ML](Naxalite) of Kashmir who were arrested on the charges of Pulwama robbery because Al' Fatah persons used fake names among the members at Pulwama on the day of dacoity, which include:-

- 1) Chaman Lal
- 2) Janki Nath
- 3) Gulshan Majeed
- 4) Muhammad Yusuf [Mir Danter]
- 5) Vijay Zitshi [name not used in dacoity]
- 6) Shuban Ji Razdan
- 7) I.B Zitshi[who eschewed the promotion of a Bank Officer and prefer to remain a trade union leader] (name not used in dacoity)
- 8) Dr. B.L Koul [name not used in dacoity]
- 9) Manzoor Ahmad Khaki [name not used in dacoity] and some others.

However, Yusuf Tarigami(Could not be arrested)²⁵.

CPIML was a group of progressives not headed by a particular person in Kashmir, which became fully operational in 1968 propounding armed struggle and supporting Right to Self-determination of Kashmir^{vii}.

Later on two groups of Naxalites in Kashmir[Jammu and Kashmir] emerged, one was led by Ram Paira Saraf, supported by Abdul Kabir Wani [Haanad, Chawalgam Kulgam] and another by Krishen Dev Sethi, supported by Gh. Muhammad Malik and Muhammad Yusuf(Danter).

Youth who were affiliated with CPIML in Kashmir were inspired by literature of Urdu especially Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Sardar Jafri and the contemporary progressive poets and that of Krishan Chand, Khawaja Ahmad Abbas, Kaifi Azami and of the creative art.

Only 6 (Pistols), 7 revolvers mostly made in Czechoslovakia—a country which was already a member of Warsa Pact, bought from Baderwah, Sten guns 13 not seen by all the top recruits were lying at Barsoo Safe- house²⁶ and 33 Sten guns at Charar-e-Sharief, it was the only weaponry available with this low profile armed resistance movement²⁷.

²⁴ . Source: Nizam.

²⁵.Source: Manzoor Ahmad Khaki.

²⁶.Citation needed.

²⁷.Source: Nizam.

Liberation wars of Libya, Vietnamese and most importantly Palestine (1965-1968) had influenced upon the psyche of Kashmiri Youth, which prepared minds of local youth for taking arms against India²⁸.

On November 14th, 1970, Saturday, the second meeting, in which Beigh categorically told Zehgeer that PF was ready to participate in upcoming Parliamentary Elections of 1971 by sending dummy candidates in Indian Parliament on the persistent pounding from influential PF activists of Anantnag but Zehgeer rejected to support elections²⁹.

His[Beigh's] concern was that Indian National Congress would, as it did in 1967, simply rig the elections, one major threat was the prospect of what Indians called "booth-capturing"—the takeover of voting centers by cadre of major party, who would simply stamp all the available ballot papers in favour of their candidates, then stuff the ballot boxes—Beigh argued that 'force is to be met with force' and members of Young Men's League were the only people available who could help PF to secure a respectable showing, but Zehgeer dissented over it³⁰! This was the last meeting of Beigh with Zehgeer³¹.

20th December 1970, Sunday Nissar Hussain Mir, the Captain of Rising Sports Club Anantnag, left game^{viii} unfinished at 3.00PM, went to Srinagar by bus, to wait for any colleague was only about three seconds [just to say ...3000, 2000 and 1000....] as a part of cover Hamid Ullah Bhat had already reached the rendezvous³² [Safe house Nishat Dalgate] and the plan to barge into Bank of Hazratbal was made on the late evening of the same day, on 21st Dec. 1970, Monday GRZ, Nazir Ahmad Wani, Nissar Hussain Mir and Hamid Ullah Bhat visited the site and had gone there by bus and came back by foot up to Sadreba³³.

Thus on 2nd January 1971, Saturday, another robbery was made this time at Hazratbal Bank, to make robbery easy persons who participated in the robbery entered the bank premises in police uniform directly to the chamber of Bank Manager masqueraded in the positions of Dy S.P, Inspector, Sub-Inspectors, and plain policemen, one of the Bank Employee offered a greeting in Islamic manner, Asalam-u-Alaikum to Farooq Ahmad, posing as police inspector. Al' Fatah men politely asked the Bank Manager to stop working for a moment,, disguised in police uniform, Nazir Ahmad Wani posing as Dy. S.P, said that some embezzlement has been found in the cash transactions of the Bank, so ordered him to present the cash available at that time[Rupees one

²⁸.Source: Peer Hussain(Ex. MLA Shangus).

²⁹ . Source: Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Baba.

³⁰ . Source: Abdul Rashid Dar.

³¹.Praveen Swami, India Pakistan and the Secret Jihad, Publisher, Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group),2007,USA, Canada, p96.

³²) Source: Nissar Hussain Mir.

³³. Ibid.

Lac(0.1million INR)] along with the cash register to put into a steel trunk, so that it can be defined in the Central Office. The Bank Manager and Cashier were also asked to accompany them, both were forcibly dropped at Sadderbal, where it was not possible for the two Bank Officials to reach to the nearest Police Station less than 30 minutes. The persons in the Taxi changed the police uniform and managed to reach Narwara.

After the successful robbery, when Zehgeer came to know about Islamic greeting [Asalam-u-Alaikum] episode, he got irritated and said to Farooq that why he[Bank Employee] has been left there, you [Al' Fatah operatives participating in robbery] should have brought him also. Farooq Ahmad was immediately dumped in the Safe- house of Shalimar at Barsoo, **Pulwama**³⁴.

This mistake led to the spotting of Farooq Ahmad. Muhammad Maqbool one of the clerks of the bank[who offered Islamic greetings to Farooq] told police that he identified one of the persons in uniform, who was his class fellow in 1967 in Shri Pratab College, then college authorities informed the investigating officer of the police that the full particulars of the person as Farooq Ahmad Bhat S/O Abdul Khaliq Bhat R/O Dudwan Sanawari.

Meanwhile According to Indian intelligence, Abdul Rashid Dar, President Young Men's League met Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh in Jammu on 7th and 8th January 1971, Beigh asked Dar for escalation of Anti-India **activity**^{ix}.

On 11th January 1971, Monday, the medical college hostel room in the possession of Farooq Ahmad pursuing degree in medicine and surgery was searched and amongst other old papers, exercise books, a small note book was also recovered. On one of the pages of this note book seven names were written. Some of the persons amongst were interrogated, and it was revealed that an underground organization namely Al' Fatah, the details of which have been mentioned above has been formed in the state and Farooq is one of its leading members. It was also revealed that one Muhammad Yusuf Mir S/O Abdul Rehman R/O Gogji Bagh Srinagar, a close friend of Farooq Ahmad was a prominent member of this **organization**³⁵. Muhammad Yusuf Mir @ Tariq was arrested on the disclosure from the diary of Farooq.

Probably Muhammad Yusuf Mir @ **Tariq**^x was responsible for the major exposure of Al' Fatah and similarly Syed Ibrahim exposed whole Al' Fatah V of North Kashmir. Later difference came to fore between **Zehgeer**^{xi} and Nazir Ahmad Wani who blamed each other for the exposure and shielding their persons responsible for the expose', it was just like urban-rural rift, led to the creation of two lobbies, which later became two political parties with different ideologies [Pro-Independent and Pro-Pakistan]. But already one of the congress leader Ghulam Rasool Kar in a public speech at Sopore had said that an armed movement like Al' Fatah is about to start operations in **Kashmir**³⁶.

³⁴ . ibid.

³⁵ .Source: Police Case History of Al' Fatah.

³⁶ . Source: Gulzar Ahmad Khaki.

At the same time, 30th January 1971, Saturday, Kashmiri Muslim militants at 1305 hours carried out hijacking of Indian Fokker plane 'Ganga', while on its routine flight from Srinagar to Jammu.

In total it was carrying 30 people including four crew members. This event brought Maqbool Butt and the Kashmir Issue to limelight in Kashmir, South Asia and at international level, hijackers demanded the release of 35 Kashmiri prisoners detained in various Indian jails.

Hashim Qureshi who hijacked the plane was an Indian Agent, seriously articulated in B.M Sinha's book "The Samba Spying Case". Qureshi was sent to other side of CFL by BSF, years earlier—to spy on Maqbool Butt's activities. According to Sinha [intelligence officer], after getting in contact with NLF, Qureshi changed sides, returned to Kashmir in January 1971, and arrested by former handlers. Qureshi according to the book "The Samba Spying Case" told BSF that he had been trained in Pakistan to hijack an Indian Airlines flight piloted by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's son and successor in office, Rajiv Gandhi. K.F Rustomji, the then BSF's Director- General, persuaded Qureshi to go ahead, but as an intelligence agent. According to Sinha's version of events, Qureshi was to hijack a flight from Srinagar, and then "create the impression that he was a member of the Al` Fatah and was hijacking the plane for liberating Kashmir from India"³⁷. Even though, Hashim has a different tale to tell^{xii}.

Early February 1971 Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh was approached by Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Baba at New Delhi^{xiii} to lend a support for Jel^{xiv}. He out rightly accepted it and directed all the active PF members for supporting Jamaat but officially party was on election boycott.

In March 1971 Parliamentary Elections, Jel fielded candidates, for North and South Kashmir [for North Kashmir it was S.A.S Geelani and for South it was Hakeem Ghulam Nabi] Begum

Abdullah was supporting Shamim Ahmad Shamim in Srinagar [Sheikh Abdullah was not the member of Plebiscite Front till 1974] and it was probably the unilateral decision of Sheikh. On the day of polling Jel^{xv} boycotted elections at 1.00PM—an enigmatic move, which proved futile rather taken in mysterious circumstances. An absurd approach declared by Beigh in recluse behaviour, when he was called telephonically from Islamabad [Anantnag] about the erroneous step taken by Jel³⁸. At 3-Kotla Lane House, New Delhi were Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh President PF was putting up [shifted some months back from Chanakiya Puri] issued a statement on the same day in a manner by asking Mridula^{xvi} Sarabai's steno, Kazmi to take dictation with the contents that "Parliament Elections in Jammu and Kashmir were bogus and an embarrassment to the world democracy"—thus supporting Jel, first this sentence was missed in the script of press release done on the directions of Sarabai but Beigh recalled Kazmi for the requisite correction and virtually verbal fracas was witnessed between the Beigh and Mridula. Later press statement was sent to both Indian and International press for the publication, even for Kashmir Press³⁹. The then District Election Officer Anantnag [DDC], Akber Khan asked Hakeem Ghulam Nabi to report

³⁷ . Praveen Swami, India Pakistan and the Secret Jihad, Publisher, Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group), 2007, USA, Canada, pp 116-117.

³⁸ . Source: Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Baba.

election office on the day of counting saying that Jel seems to be in winning position but he[Hakeem] didn't turn up. One of the polling agent [1971 for Congress] said that they use to pile up ballots in such a manner that on top, middle and bottom of the mound congress polled votes were placed and then total number of votes were declared in their favour, otherwise Jel was winning 5th Lok Sabha Elections for Anantnag Parliamentary Constituency.

Meanwhile, Indo-Pak conflict was sparked by the Bangladesh Liberation war, a conflict between the traditionally dominant West Pakistanis and the majority East Pakistanis. [The Bangladesh Liberation war ignited after the 1970 Pakistani election, in which the East Pakistani Awami League^{xvii} won 167 of 169 seats in EastPakistan and secured a simple majority in the 313-seat lower house of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament of Pakistan). Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rehman presented the Six Points to the President of Pakistan and claimed the right to form the government. After the leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, refused to yield the premiership of Pakistan to Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, President Yahya Khan ordered the deployment of the military from the West Pakistan to suppress dissent in the East Pakistan dominantly populated by the Bengalis].

Mass arrests of dissidents began, and attempts were made to disarm East Pakistani soldiers and police. After several days of strikes and non-cooperation movements, the Pakistani military

cracked down on Dhaka on the night of 25th March 1971, Thursday. The Awami League was banished, and many members fled into exile in India. Mujib was arrested on the night of 25–26

March 1971, Thursday-Friday, at about 1:30 am and taken to West Pakistan⁴⁰. On 27th March 1971, Saturday, Ziaur Rehman, a rebellious major in the Pakistani army, declared the independence of Bangladesh on behalf of Mujibur Rehman. In April, exiled Awami League leaders formed a government-in-exile in Baidyanathtala of Meherpur. The East Pakistan Rifles, a paramilitary force, defected to the rebellion. A guerrilla troop of civilians, the Mukti Bahini, was formed to help the Bangladesh Army⁴¹.

In the meantime in Kashmir, March-April 1971⁴² representatives of various youth organizations held a meeting to develop the commonalities among resisting groups of youth, which later on became a new political resistance party named as Unity Meet, led by Abdul Rashid Wani (A.R Wani) as President, Noor Muhammad Nanda, Chief Organizer, Me'araj Qureshi, Publicity Secretary, Sheikh Manzoor, Secretary and Ghulam Muhammad Sofi (Z.G Muhammad)^{xviii} as Secretary. The sole aim of the

³⁹ . ibid.

⁴⁰ . Source: Radio Pakistan's[news on 29 March 1971].

⁴¹ . Rao Farman Ali, 'Jammu Kashmir: Resolution Through Reconciliation for Peace and Dignity' Publisher : Sabzar Communications, Anantnag, 2010,p.147.

⁴² . Citation needed for the accuracy.

organization was to pressurize India to allow impartial plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir, the only way for the solution of Kashmir **imbroglio**⁴³

Popular **Front**^{xix} was established in first week of May 1971, when difference cropped up between Abdul Rashid Dar (Young Men's League) and some youth. Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh was declared Patron of Popular Front, Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar, President, Abdul Rashid Shah, political advisor, Mir Qaiser, General Secretary, Tariq Qayoom Khan, Chief Organizer, Abdul Aziz Shister (Iron), Organizer and Sheikh Tajamul Islam was also one of the members of the organization and setup five room rented office at Gawkadal paying an amount of 1700 (INR) per month. It supported Right to Self-determination rather complete Independence of Jammu and Kashmir based on the ideology of Maqbool **Butt**^{xx}. On 2nd August 1971, Monday, Muhammad Yusuf Mir (Verinag) came to Anantnag and dropped a letter at Shabir Shah's residence requesting him to come to Srinagar on 8th August 1971, Sunday to Karan Nagar along with his father [Mir's], on that something different happened, instead of Shah security agencies [IB] caught hold of **Yusuf**^{xxi} **Mir**⁴⁴, during dusk, late evening he straight away took the security party to Karan Nagar Srinagar to the place where Abdul Rashid Dar was hiding, Central Intelligence people tried to arrest him although they fired a round but he managed to escape, it drew the attention of state Kashmir with the cognizance of local police, then police arrested

Dar on Monday 23rd of August **1971**⁴⁵ Government towards Central Intelligence Agency's operation in On the other side, the Indian Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, expressed full support of her government to the struggle for Independence by the people of East Pakistan. Exiled East Pakistan army officers and members of the Indian Intelligence [RAW with the active support of KGB] immediately started using refugee camps for recruitment and training of Mukti Bahini guerrillas. By November, war seemed inevitable; a massive buildup of Indian forces on the border with East Pakistan had begun. The Indian military waited for winter, when the drier ground would make for easier operations and Himalayan passes would be closed by snow, preventing any Chinese intervention. On 23rd November 1971, Tuesday, Yahya Khan declared a state of emergency in all of Pakistan and told his people to prepare for war. On the evening of 3rd, 1971 December Sunday, at about 5:40 PM, the Pakistani air force launched a pre-emptive strike on eight airfields in North-Western India, including Agra which was 300 miles (480 km) from the border. During this attack the Taj Mahal was camouflaged with a forest of twigs and leaves and draped with burlap because its marble glowed like a white beacon in the moonlight. This attack, called Operation Chengiz Khan and Pakistan flew no more than 50 planes to India. As a result, Indian runways were cratered and rendered non-functional for several hours after the **attack**⁴⁶. In an address to the nation on radio that same evening, the then Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi held the air strikes as a declaration of war against India and the Indian Air Force responded with initial air strikes that very night that were expanded to massive retaliatory air strikes the next morning.

⁴³ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar.

⁴⁴ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Mir.

⁴⁵ . Source: Abdul Rashid Dar.

⁴⁶ . PAF Begins War in the West: 3 December". Institute of Defense Studies. http://www.pakdef.info/pakmilitary/airforce/1971_war/warinwest.html. Retrieved 2008-07-04.

This marked the official start of the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered the immediate mobilization of troops and launched the full-scale invasion⁴⁷ resulting into Territorial changes at eastern front— Bangladesh becomes an independent state. This had affected the common psyche of Kashmiris and a breakthrough for Indian establishment but disheartened political resistance leaders of Kashmir.

On 10th January 1972, Monday around 2.00 PM police produced Enemies Agent Ordinance and Conspiracy case of Al' Fatah in the court before Nilkant Ganjoo at Jammu, the judge appointed

by government and the case was submitted through Additional Superintendent of Police, A.M Watali and three advocates from the state were present but did not have any counsel to defend Al' Fatah under-trial persons, therefore asked a time gap of one month to prove the charges leveled against them are wrong— and demanded court that they must be given chance to talk and see each other. But, judge was talking in a language, as if he was representing police, court rejected th plea. And the proceeding was one sided. However, in jail all Al' Fatah detainees were debarred from the free jail movement⁴⁸.

On 17th January 1972, an Advocate from Jammu R.S Mehta entered to the court. Abdul Rashid Dar was already in knowhow of it, as information was passed by him to Mehta— President

Jammu Bar Association, a renowned advocate— in court Al' Fatah detainees demanded more time and January 20th was fixed for hearing⁴⁹. It was 15th January 1972, Tuesday a telegram has been sent by Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh from New Delhi which we received on the same day saying '**Ab. Rashid Dar detenue C.J.J (.) Please do not worry (.) Please don't worry(.) Arranging Defence (.)—Beigh**⁵⁰

On 20th January 1972, Thursday, Advocate P. L Handoo and Advocate G.N Hagroo came but the Al' Fatah detainees out rightly rejected G.N Hagroo as the defence counsel, the big reason behind this was that he [Hagroo] approached for the compromise with the conditions that except Zehgeer, Nazir and Fazal, all others will be released⁵¹, probably they might be taken as witnesses prosecutions against them⁵², similarly Advocate Ghulam Rasool Kochak also approached to defend case but demanded 5000 (INR) per sitting, thus this offer was also rejected due to financial constraints⁵³. And on the same day they [Al' Fatah detainees] appealed to the court that

⁴⁷ . Rao Farman Ali, 'Jammu Kashmir: Resolution Through Reconciliation for Peace and Dignity', Publisher : Sabzar Communications, Anantnag, 2010, p148.

⁴⁸ . Nizam, 'Jail Dairy', Urdu, p.1 (Urdu).

⁴⁹ . ibid.

⁵⁰ . ibid.

⁵¹ .ibid.

⁵² .ibid.

⁵³ . Source: Gulzar Ahmad Khaki.

Advocate Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh, Advocate P.L Handoo, Advocate Iqbal Krishan Kotwal, Advocate Hakim Sadiq and Advocate R.S Mehta should be taken as the defence lawyers.

On 26th January 1972, Wednesday, Speaker of Legislative Assembly, Abdul Gani Goni^{xxii} visited Jammu Central Jail and ordered Jail Superintendent to show a movie to all detainees^{xxiii} [under- trial or convicted]⁵⁴.

5th February 1972, Saturday, the Deputy of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh had given a press statement in New Delhi that people of Jammu Kashmir have to

find a solution within the framework of Indian constitution but PF was fearing that Kashmiri people might react to it, after coming to Kashmir. Beigh was recieved warmly in the Kashmir valley, then he sent a telegram to Abdul Rashid Dar, President Young Men' League to Jammu Central Jail with the text, " Heavy Motorcade (.) Mammoth crowd(.)———Ab.Rashid Dar⁵⁵."

Tuesday, 8th February 1972, Fourth Legislative Assembly elections held. In Jammu and Kashmir Congress secured 58 seats. Jamaat-e-Islami, contesting elections for the first time, won 5 seats.

62% voters cast their ballot.

On 21st February 1972, Friday court with regard to case of Al' Fatah appointed Advocate G.N Hagroo, Advocate Mehta, Advocate Handoo and Advocate Iqbal Krishan Kotwal as Amicus

curiae. Again Al' Fatah detainees rejected Advocate G.N Hagroo as their counsel, on the same day their defence counsels discussed whether the trial will be joint or separate as 19 acts have been slapped upon the detainees. On this supreme court ruling was referred, prosecutor also tried to defend that the trial should be carried separately, however, decision was in favour of Al' Fatah detainees, which was announced on 25th of February 1972, Friday that the joint trial⁵⁶ must be carried for⁵⁷. On 25th February 1972 about the absconding accused persons of Pakistan by the Jammu Kashmir police in Al' Fatah case, two witnesses were produced in the court, Head Constable Ghulam Muhammad and Head Constable Ghulam Nabi, both recorded their statements which were contradicting to one another. Their statements were totally concocted as one witness said, " He had gone to Pakistan via Tral, Anantnag to search for Zaffar Iqbal Rathore of Pakistan.⁵⁸"

In early March 1972 one of the Al' Fatah colleague fell ill in Jammu Central Jail but despite repeated inculcations to jail authorities for the lack of healthcare facilities and proper sanitation, doctor on duty was not paying any heed and all the Al' Fatah detainees protested over the inhuman approach adopted by him along with one of the

⁵⁴ .Source: Sajad.

⁵⁵ . ibid.

⁵⁶ ibid

⁵⁷ . ibid.

⁵⁸ . ibid.

jail official, Kotwal, to registered the protest they[Al' Fatah detainees] locked doctor in the bathroom of the jail for the whole day⁵⁹ !

Around April 1972, then Minister Prisons and Education, Kh. Abdul Gani Lone^{xxiv} visited Jammu Central jail along with IG Prisons (Bakhdey) and met to the detainees had a healthy discussion, regarding pro-freedom and pro-India stances[but appreciated the dissent]. Later on he told Jailor, "These boys are inseparable parts of our body and you must take special care of them and we [government] are going to take them back." And doctor along with Dy.S P (Kotwal) Jammu Central Jail, who maltreated the Al' Fatah detainees, were replaced⁶⁰ !

On 20th May 1972, Saturday before the start of the court session, we[Al' Fatah men] sent tele- printed messages to Chief Justice of High Court, Chief Minister, Jail Minister saying that we are being pressurized by police and jail authorities, the copy of which was also sent to senior defence counsel Advocate Muhammad Afzal Beigh.

On 22nd of May 1972, Monday Gaffar Sofi recorded his statement and counsels cross examined, his statement which was contradictory to the statement given to police but he was the only witnesses till to start of the trial whose statements were favouring Al' Fatah detainees. It seemed as if Gaffar Sofi S/O Sultan Sofi R/O Letapora, Awantipora was severely tortured by police but still he gave the statement in favour of Al' Fatah under-trial persons.

During identification instead of Zehgeer he pointed towards Muhammad Sayeed as Zehgeer, instead of Farooq Ahmad he identified Bashir Ahmad Zarger then Fazal Haq Qureshi. After

the day's proceedings were over, one of the Al' Fatah detainee heard a police officer abusing Sofi while he was demanding water again and again.

On 23rd May 1972, Friday, before entering court Al' Fatah detainees received a telegram which had come to Superintendent of Jail Jammu, the text of the message: '**Revision Admitted (.)File(.) Proceedings stopped (.) All well— Beg⁶¹**'

However, the Judge said that he has not received any directive from High Court but considering the telegram as true he adjourned the court sine die.

Late June 1972, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh visited Srinagar Central Jail as Defence Council, used to encourage all the detainees. One of the Al' Fatah under-trial person was undergoing a correspondence course in the prison, when Beigh came to know about it, gifted a tie pin to him."Look young men this is (Ristae Degcha [a special Kashmiri cuisine (small fried balls of chopped meat) in copper utensil (Cauldron) sent by Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah," Beigh Said on the same day⁶² [to win the sympathy of Al' Fatah under-trial persons]. And Advocate Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh had made a commitment with Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer that for Amicus Curiae out of approximately 60,000 (INR) he will spend 20,000 upon detainees, 20,000 (INR) on Plebiscite Front

⁵⁹ . ibid.

⁶⁰ .Source : Gulzar Ahmad Khaki.

⁶¹ . Nizam, 'Jail Dairy', p.12 (Urdu).

⁶² . Source: Sajad.

(Mahaz-i-Rai Shumari) and rest on himself, because he was legal counsel without being given a single penny⁶³ .

On 15th of June 1972 Al' Fatah detainees left Jammu late evening from Jammu Central Jail and reached Srinagar 16th June 8.00 AM and their three colleagues were shifted to Bagh-e- Mehtab

interrogation centre⁶⁴ .

On 2nd July, 1972, Sunday at Simla, India, an agreement between Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President of Pakistan and Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India took place which naturally had a psychological effect upon Kashmiri thinking when ceasefire remained as Line of Control (LoC) under the clause; **in order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree**^{xxv} .

Plebiscite front also suffered a heavy jolt as a part to the pie of distress due to Indo-Pak war of 1972 and it literally gave up its stand of the Right to self- determination, and was in utter isolation in terms of finances and diplomatic support, as Pakistan was in deep crisis. Virtually a defeatist attitude developed in the rank and file of PF, led by Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh with the pidgin of **Haarun** [defeat].

Against Simla Agreement a letter heading Goodbye to Kashmir, criticizing the policies and role of Pakistan was sent by NLF in Pakistan to register the protest but it did not appear in any of the newspapers of Pakistan except in a magazine Outlook (Fortnightly) published from Karachi⁶⁵ .

At the same time Nisar Sidiqi lauched Liberation Front[not to be taken as JKLF], just on papers to support right to self- determination⁶⁶ .

When a statement on 8th August 1972, Tuesday quoting Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah appeared in one of the leading Newspapers of UK, he wrote to Ghulam Mustafa Alvi that he had been misquoted⁶⁷ .

Afterwards Zulfikar Ali Bhutto paid a three days visit to Azad Kashmir and to establish Governor House^{xxvi} but pro- Independent activist protested in a manner that they raised the slogans like '**Bacha Bacha Cutt Maray Ga, Kashmir Soba Nahin Baneyga**' [We will sacrifice even our children but Kashmir will not be allowed to become a province of Pakistan].

At Mirpur, Aman Ullah Khan, Mir Manan, G. M Lone, Mir Qayoom, Ghulam Mustafa Alvi hijacked the stage for ten minutes, where Bhutto was about to address the gathering, raising the slogans like '**Khud Mukhtar Kashmir Zindabad**' [Long Live Independent Kashmir],and all

⁶³ . Source: Nizam.

⁶⁴ . Nizam, 'Jail Dairy', p.12(Urdu).

⁶⁵ . Source: Ghulam Mustafa Alvi.

⁶⁶ . Source: Nissar Hussain Mir.

⁶⁷ . Source: Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, 2012 .

where arrested at the askance of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto but later released and a meeting was arranged for them at 1.00AM by Hafeez Peerzada.

During meeting Abdul Khaliq Ansari raised the slogans like, ' Qaid-e-Azam Zindabad, Sheer-i-Kashmir Zindabad, Maqbool Butt Zindabad, Abul Kalam Azad Zindabad'[Long live Qaid-e- Azam,

long live Sher-i-Kashmir, long live Maqbool Butt, long live Abul Kalam Azad] Bhutto was told by NLF leaders to clear policy about Kashmir, he in response said that '**Siyasat Mein Koi Baat Hatmi Nahin Hoti Hai**' [*In politics any avowal is never an ultimate*] and rest talk with Hafeez⁶⁸

On 15th August 1972, Tuesday, Syed Ali Geelani[then MLA, Sopore] along with Advocate Hussam-Ud-Din and Ghulam Nabi Nowsheri came to Central Jail Srinagar to distribute Sweets (Pastry) among the prisoners. He tried utmost to provide the same to Al' Fatah under- trials but the offer was straight away rejected in a manner that everyone went to false asleep, wrapping themselves with bed covers in one of the Barracks, where majority of Al' Fatah men were lodged, although in another Barrack of the prison Nazir Ahmad Wani, Farooq Ahmad, Fazal Haq Qureshi, Ghulam Muhammad Naikoo, Khawaja Muhammad Shaban Wakil and Hamid Ullah Bhat accepted the pastry⁶⁹

Probably 7th September, Thursday 1972, Al' Fatah detainees were shifted to a Special Jail in Srinagar and court was established for Al' Fatah under-trial persons called as 'court for Al' Fatah cases'⁷⁰

In May 1973 several youth of Anantnag like Muhammad Sidiq Parrey^{xxvii} and Mushtaq Ahmad Kanu and others were arrested on the charges of 'Book of Knowledge'^{xxviii} who protested against the book⁷¹

Similar like guerilla groups in 1973 were formed as a part of ersatz, named as Bomb Famb party headed by Nazir Ahmad Wani (Shiv Pora, Srinagar) and Manzoor Ahmad Dar of Batamaloo along with the other members who were arrested later, probably inspired by Al' Fatah like armed resistance module, while as a group of students namely Manzoor Ahmad Malik of Down Town Srinagar, Muhammad Ashraf and Ishfaq Hussain Handoo were booked under Enemy Agent Ordinance Act and a murder case was also slapped upon them in the same year (1973) Sheikh Nazir Ahmad presently General Secretary N. C acted as defence lawyer for this group and later case was set aside.

18th May 1973, Friday, an anguish was felt among, most of the Al' Fatah detainees at Central Jail Srinagar rather disappointed them, on charging Maqbool Butt, Ashraf Qureshi and Hashim

Qureshi calling all of them as agents of Indian Intelligence, when Hashim Qureshi and Ashraf Qureshi Hijacked Indian Foker on 30th January 1971⁷², when Pakistani court ordered for the rigorous punishment.

⁶⁸) ibid.

⁶⁹. Narrated by major Al' Fatah detainees.

⁷⁰. Nizam, 'Jail Dairy', p.14 (Urdu).

⁷¹. Source: Advocate Bashir Ahmad Bhat, Vice Chairman JKLF, 2012

June 1973 at Central Jail Srinagar, photographs of two army officials were shown to Zehgeer which include Col. Bashir and Major Tufail, involved as absconding accused in Jammu and Kashmir Police case history, he[Zehgeer] told the intelligence Agencies of India that they were not the persons wanted in the conspiracy case. This shows the charisma and commitment to the cause on behalf of Zehgeer^{xxix}.

Friday, 21st September 1973, first-time a unique protest was demonstrated in Anantnag town by Muhammad Ramzan Mishger supported by Nazir Ahmad Shah [Kath] Shuban Ji Razdan, Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Salati, ran for several days, on 'Fast Unto Death', Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh came and joined Misgher, and gave an amount of 111 (INR) as a part of damage control, Ramzan allegedly used to drink milk by utilizing JaJeer (Huka) [Hubblebubble] giving people an impression that he is on strike and smoke to satiate constant pangs of hunger. But Mufti Muhammad Saeed^{xxx} was the person behind this show to create a parallel leadership against PF, although Ramzan Misgher earned a name in Anantnag Ramzan Soula-Kilo-Wala, because people of Anantnag were getting ration of 11kgs per person per month at the rate of 0.40 (INR) while as people Srinagar used to get 16kgs per person per month at the rate of 0.40 (INR), so Migher and his company demanded ration for Anantnag in parity with Srinagar.

On 28th October 1973, Sunday, Muhammad Altaf Khan of NLF delivered an expound lecture on religion and politics at Srinagar Central Jail⁷³.

After the release of all Al' Fatah persons [Except Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, Abdul Hai Baderwahij] in January 1974, a breakaway faction of Young Men's League was formed in February 1974 at the askance of Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, led by Noor Muhammad as its President and Nisar Hussain Mir—Gen. Secretary and Bashir Ahmad Bhat Chief Organizer because GRZ was having suspicion that Abdul Rashid Dar was playing foul with the movement.

Meanwhile S. Hamid who was acting president of YML formed another faction⁷⁴. In 1974, Bernard Veun Rub of NYT came to Kashmir to seek the view point of Kashmiri youth vis-à-vis Kashmir, Jagan Nath Sathoo working for New York Times in Jammu and Kashmir contacted Gilkar in this regard, who met Bernard in a house boat, along with A.R Wani, Tariq Qayoom and maintained to continue the resistance struggle like that of Palestine, supported the act of Laila Khalid. When the interview of Gilkar with several photographs appeared in NYT, after receiving three papers from Lloyds Bank Residency Road, he straight away went to Mujahid Manzil (headquarters for PF), after meeting Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, while showing copy of the Newspaper, Sheikh was unhappy over it, ragtag and bobtailed him⁷⁵.

In the same year, Peoples Party was floated in Jammu and Kashmir by Shamim Ahmad Shamim, Ghulam Ahmad Bawan, Reyaz Punjabi, Bashir Ahmad Khan and

⁷² . Source: Nissar Hussain Mir.

⁷³ . ibid.

⁷⁴ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar.

⁷⁵ . ibid.

others which was having a different approach and was focused on restoration of democracy and to struggle for civil liberties⁷⁶.

Tahir Muztar established Political Times as Owner, Chief Editor, with Javaid Makdooimi as associate/ Assistant Editor and Sheikh Tajamul Islam as Editor, openly supporting youth movements of Kashmir⁷⁷.

12th July 1974 a mass rally was organized by Awami Action Committee at Gole Bagh Srinagar, in which people in thousands participated. However, Raja Muhammad Ayub, Amma Zaroo and

others made the requisite arrangements for making this function a success but Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar who spoke on the stage in favour of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh, and among the audience Pro-Mirwaiz and Pro-Sheikh youth fought with each other due to which Mirwaiz Muhammad Farooq failed to address the gathering^{xxxii}, although this whole event was being watched by Beigh from Custodian building along with Atta Ullah Suharwardhi and Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Shah.

And Abdul Rashid Bakal (Mithea') and Mir Qaiser (Young Men's league) were also present on the occasion⁷⁸. In almost mid of 1974, students of Kashmir University laid the foundation of Students Islamic Organization SIO, in University Hostel Room No. 25 by Altaf Hussain Tak, Habib Ullah Dar, Hamid Ullah Bhat, Azam Inqilabi as Chief Organizer, they were dissatisfied with the approach of Islamic Study Circle. SIO succeeded in establishing a firm base in Baramullah⁷⁹.

Another development took place simultaneously, when Zehgeer launched Pro-Independent political organization Peoples Revolutionary Front^{xxxii} (PRF) in late June 1974 with two offices,

one at Srinagar in Neelam Chowk [Srinagar] and another at Reshi Bazar Ananatnag [Islamabad] with the slogan : "Freedom is our birth right," "And unification of Jammu and Kashmir[Wahdut]."

Which supported accord because Decca fall has badly affected on the psyche of Kashmiris[as stated earlier], even at political front, party thought about some space to foot upon—the focus on larger dimensions of greater autonomy for Jammu and Kashmir — for a way forward towards Independence⁸⁰.

Several persons of armed resistance movement [like Al' Fatah] were on parole, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh told Nazir Ahmad Wani to meet Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah on the restoration of his services as an Agriculture Officer, the moment he met him, he was straight away told, "What will I do?" See other job. "I don't believe in underground activities," Sheikh. This behaviour of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah disgruntled Wani⁸¹, later on Nazir Ahmad Wani, Fazal Haq Qureshi, Ghulam Muhammad Naikoo, Hamid

⁷⁶ . ibid.

⁷⁷ . ibid.

⁷⁸ . ibid.

⁷⁹ . Azam Inqilabi, Payam-e Hurriyat, Urdu, Publisher, Jammu Kashmir Mahaz-e-Azadi,2006,p.55.

⁸⁰ . Gulzar Ahmad Khaki.

Ullah Bhat, S. Hamid and others floated Peoples League a Pro-Pakistan Political Organization[a counter move to PRF] in which few members of Youth League, Young Men's League, Islamic Students organization [whole] and some selected Al' Fatah members amalgamated on 3rd October 1974, Thursday—persons who dissented in Jail, because main counsel Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh was giving more attention to Zehgeer and he started playing pivotal role, rather a leading one, Nazir Ahmad Wani and others thought that the role must be given to the person to be considered unanimously and this led to the formation of two lobbies in the jail, thus decided to launch new political organization with the broader understanding that Kashmiris alone cannot challenge India and Pakistan should be at the back and thus focused on better relations with Pakistan than other things, which could be achievable and address the peoples' demand, and pave a way for reconciliation, so supported accession with Pakistan⁸².

Other thing was that Zehgeer probably was supporting the accord which was in offing with New Delhi⁸³. But at that time accord with New Delhi was out of question and negotiations with New Delhi on the infamous accord started late 1973, so this argument proves null and void, already when the armed resistance group got exposed and literally there were differences of opinion among that Farooq Ahmad Bhat, Nazir Ahmad Wani, Muhammad Shaban Wakil and Fazal Haq Qureshi responsible for exposing top cadre of armed resistance movement headed by GRZ83. This was the main friction rather a controversy, similarly they were accusing Zehgeer for the mess and shielding Abdul Rashid Dar and Muhammad Yusuf Mir Tariq⁸⁴.

Another aspect was that on the first day of the hearing in court at Jammu, Zehgeer was provided a tie to project him as a leader, which led to the creation of Relational Conflict or A-type conflict with Nazir Ahmad Wani thus they[his few friends] started lobbying against the majority,⁸⁵ defence counsels like Mehta, P.L Handoo and Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh used to meet GRZ regularly, Abdul Rashid Dar, Abdul Hai Baderwahi or other detainees from Jammu Province related to Al' Fatah and occasionally to Muhammad Yusuf Mir and not to Nazir Ahmad Wani and Fazal Haq Qureshi—a factor—led to the creation of Pro- Independent and Pro-Pakistan lobbies, surfaced later after the release of all detainees⁸⁶.

Moreover, Abdul Rashid Dar of Young Men's League was of this opinion that all must confess^{xxxiii}, they[Al' Fatah detainees] smell a rat, because there were no serious

⁸¹ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar.

⁸² . Source: Fazal Haq Qureshi.

⁸³ . Source: Ghulam Muhammad Naikoo.

⁸⁴ . Source: Nissar Hussain Mir.

⁸⁵ . Source: Safdar.

⁸⁶ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Mir, Verinag, Anantnag.

charges against Dar, it also led to the formation of one more foyer in **jail**⁸⁷. But it is also true that GRZ was the last to be released from the Jail and Nisar Hussain, Muhammad Saleem Gilkar, Abdul Hai Baderwahi ...[sic] were also released later, however, before **Zehgeer**⁸⁸.

In 1974 Dr. Farooq Abdullah visited Muzaffarabad and held meetings with Maqbool Butt and Amanullah Khan—founders of National Liberation Front (NLF)—an armed outfit formed to

liberate Kashmir from Indian rule, he addressed a gathering of 7,000, at Rawalakot, 10,000 and the biggest one was at Mirpur where he addressed a gathering of 30,000 and raised a slogan

Choun Desh Meun Desh, Kashur Desh, Kashur Desh—your country my country, Kashmir State, Kashmir State, tea was arranged for him by Subedar Khadim Hussain of **Mirpur**⁸⁹.

Farooq Abdullah reportedly took oath on Quran to work with the NLF for liberation of Kashmir. Bombay weekly **ONLOOKER** (now defunct) published photographs of Abdullah in company of Butt and Khan taking oath on Quran in its March 16-22, 1984 **issue**^{xxxiv}, but Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, one of the founding members of NLF refutes the event of the oath taking by Farooq Abdullah for joining the party."

When Dr. Farooq Abdullah returned from Muzaffarabad, he organized a huge rally in Srinagar's Lal Chowk, rally was also addressed by two London-based Mirpuri leaders of the NLF.

The rally was viewed by many people as rebellion by young Abdullah against his father Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah's upcoming Accord with then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. It was in this

rally that Farooq Abdullah again coined the same slogan—**Choun Desh Meun Desh, Kashur Desh, Kashur Desh—your country my country, Kashmir State, Kashmir State**. The slogan caught the minds and imagination of many people in Kashmir.

Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh, President PF stressed Students Union led by Muhammad Amin Sofi, a Pro-plebiscite group and Popular Front to come under same umbrella in 1974, then

Maqbool-i-Mahaz was named the united organization, Beigh as its patron, Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar, President and Sofi was also provided a responsible post. Later on it declared Maqbool Butt as their leader, although some differences stirred- up over it but were cooped up easily. And in the same year United Front was formed by Ghulam Qadir Azad, Abdul Majeed Pathan, besides several others. It also supported the Right to Self-**determination**⁹⁰.

It is worth to mention that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President of Pakistan had promulgated well in advance about the strike call against the accord to be the Friday, without fixing a

⁸⁷ . Source: Nisar Hussain Mir.

⁸⁸ . Source: Nizam.

⁸⁹ . Source: Ghulam Mustafa Alvi.

⁹⁰ . Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar.

date, as Signing of Beigh – Parthasarathi concord, on 13th November 1974, Wednesday but Zehgeer was of the opinion to oppose the Bhutoo call, otherwise the call should come from any Kashmiri leader, which will have the say and influence, maintained GRZ⁹¹. This approach led to the severe differences within the rank and file of the party and three day marathon meeting was convened in this regard, and at last every one supported the call but unanimous decision was to abstain, although at lower level the call was given full support but unofficially and on 15th February, Saturday, in Sopore anti- Abdullah procession was taken out opposing accord led by Ghulam Muhammad Khan Sopori, on this Ghulam Muhammad Bulla was arrested and killed in custody⁹².

Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was released after 22 years of imprisonment immediately after Beigh – Parthasarathi...[sic...] arrangement, then Indira- Abdullah Accord was executed in 1975, 24 February 1975 Saturday, the Indian Prime Minister said 'Clock can't be put back'. On behalf of the Kashmiri leadership the NC reiterated that the accession of the State of J&K is not an issue anymore.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutoo gave the strike call on 28th of February 1975, Friday as a part of solidarity with Kashmiris, to support their birth right, right to self-determination, PL— pro-Pakistan political party— had made preparations well in advance in support of the strike call, even by Molvi Muhammad Farooq's AAC, it affected normal life in Kashmir, streets and roads in the valley gave a deserted look and the show was a grand success⁹³. S. Hamid and Shabir Shah the recruits of Yusuf Mir (Verinag)⁹⁴ in Young Men's League [joined PL], played the pivotal role to make strike possible, Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Abdul Razak, Fazal Haq Qureshi, Muhammad Rafiq Wani, Bashir Ahmad Tota, Farooq Rehmani, Muhammad Aslam Wani, Ghulam Rasool Nawaz, Zahoor Ahmad Sheikh, Mukhtar Ahmad Sofi, were the key runners for the strike⁹⁵. Muhammad Shafi Misgher, along with Muhammad Iqbal Mir, Muhammad Altaf Jan and Abdul Rashid Misgher opened stonepelting front at Cheeni Chowk[not the members of PL] and took people to streets. In North Kashmir Ghulam Qadir Wani and Syed Abdul Wahid Kirmani launched an aggressive campaign particularly in Baramullah district on the same issue⁹⁶. Similarly complete shutdown was observed in Azad Kashmir also, people in general and members of ruling party in particular were abusing Sheikh Abdullah but Kashmiris were to some extent reserved in Azad Kashmir but in ultimate desperation⁹⁷.

⁹¹ . Source: Advocate Bashir Ahmad Bhat, Vice Chairman JKLF.

⁹² . Azam Inqilabi, Payam-e Hurriyat, Urdu, Publisher, Jammu Kashmir Mahaz-e-Azadi, 2006, p.61.

⁹³ . Farooq Rehmani, Azadi Ki Talash, Publisher, Aslab publications, Srinagar, 1989 (first edition 1982) pp.208-209, Urdu.

⁹⁴ . Shabir Ahmad Shah joined Youth League in 1968 and Young Men's. League in 1974.

⁹⁵ . Azam Inqilabi, Payam-e Hurriyat, Urdu, Publisher, Jammu Kashmir Mahaz-e-Azadi, 2006, p.61.

⁹⁶ .ibid.

After three days of Bhutto's strike call given against Indra-Abdullah accord, when Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and Afzal Beigh reached near Khanabal, Islamabad from Banihal on 3rd March 1975, Monday, PRF kept a large banner at display on the main gate of Degree College, Khanabal showing Kashmir on it as a country, Sheikh clapped on it and later kissed on the forehead of Zehgeer. Some youth shouted against the accord by calling it villainous and made an abortive attempt to attack the car in which Sheikh and Beigh were **traveling**⁹⁸.

On the same day, at historical Lal Chowk, people of Kashmir in Srinagar received Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah with warmth gestures, who addressed the huge gathering. Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh in his speech said that the 20 year struggle [PF] was Aawara Gardy [profligacy] a unembellished surrender on part of Shiekh and Beigh—later on took over charge of government in the state, all the cases of youth like Nawakadal murder case, Islamia College case and most importantly much propagated Al' Fatah case were promised to be taken back by state, and all the Al' Fatah members were released on Parole. But Sheikh Abdullah revived with full strength, the corruption started by his political predecessors, this time NC leader was a changed person not the lion which people use to call him —along with his trio [Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh, Devi Das Thakur and Sonum **Norbu**^{xxxv}], institutionalized corruption.

By-elections in Devsar assembly segment of Anantnag district and Ganderbal were called, Zehgeer and PRF started campaigning for Independent Kashmir in Devsar and gave Maqbool Butt a heavy **projection**⁹⁹. Who at that time was under detention with severe charges, on this Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh called Zehgeer and daunted **him**¹⁰⁰. Which resulted into a rethought to their political activities and Beigh was now trying to make them an expandable pawns to serve the interest of **Beigh**¹⁰¹. The office of PRF was run on the tuition fee raised 10.00 Paisas (0.10 INR) to the poor and needy students on weekly basis to meet the expenses incurred as running charges for the office at Reshi Bazar Islamabad (Anantnag), having the faculty like Gulzar Ahmad Khaki, Jawwad Hussain Reshi, occasionally by Maqbool Malik to teach, Science, Muhammad Saleem Gilkar and Muhammad Shafi Misgher used to teach English, Mathematics and Social Sciences but the overall supervision was done by Nissar Hussain **Mir**¹⁰². Financial crunch led to closure of the main office at Neelam Chowk— a

⁹⁷ . Source: Ghulam Mustafa Alvi.

⁹⁸ . Source: Gulzar Ahmad Khaki.

⁹⁹ . Source: Bashir Ahmad Bhat, Vice Chairman, JKLF.

¹⁰⁰ . Mir Muhammad Iqbal, President Jammu Kashmir Mahaz-e-Azadi, 2012.

¹⁰¹ . Source: Bashir Ahmad Bhat, Vice Chairman, JKLF, 2012

¹⁰² . Source: Nissar Hussain Mir.

property of Saif-Ud-Din (Neelam)— and sub-office at Reshi Bazar, both were closed by compensating rent charges with the surrender of office **furniture**¹⁰³.

Al' Fatah case, Islamia college case and other like cases, were supposed to be withdrawn by the NC immediately after the transfer of power but that did not happen, later on Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah in a public rally at Srinagar declared the conversion of PF into NC, announcing Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh as the President of the party, burying the slogan of plebiscite into a subterranean grave, this move disheartened some of the PF activists and even the youth who were grilled by police in various charges. On this Sofi Muhammad Akber was the first senior PF leader who openly opposed the **accord**^{xxxvi} and then Akber parted away from the party but N.C maintains that their was an agreement with New Delhi that they [India] will windup Congress Party in Jammu and Kashmir so will N.C close the much hyped P.F but afterwards India reneged from the promise, as in the **past**¹⁰⁴. And in last months of 1975, Abdul Rashid Dar YML merged with NC.

Late 1975 or the beginning of 1976, a resolution was passed in Anantnag Bar Association about the non-entry of Badami, an IB inspector, who was a very close friend of Advocate Premnath Bhat [use to share everything with each other], Muhammad Yaqoob, Advocate G. N Kochak, Advocate G.N Hagroo, Advocate Hussam-ud-din and loosely Advocate Nazir Ahmad but only after 3 days Badami reported in the premises of Anantnag Court, where he was asked to leave, in retaliation he threatened Abdul Rashid Dar, even Kath about the dire consequences. On the other hand he was pressing to S.P Anantnag [A.M Watali] for the arrest of Advocate Muhammad Sultan, an active member of Jel, because both Jamaat and RSS were banned by State government, as already emergency was declared in **India**¹⁰⁵.

In May 1976, Maqbool Butt entered Kashmir against the advice of many of his friends and colleagues. This time he entered valley with Abdul Hammed Butt and Riaz Dar. Mir Shahida Qayoom used to support Maqbool Butt in his adventure of guerilla warfare— a post graduate in Political **Sciences**¹⁰⁶.

Soon, after entering valley in ending May or beginning **June**¹⁰⁷ 1976, was monitoring a delegate session of NC called at Jammu, in which people of R.S Pora and Akhnoor participated, who were raising slogans in their own lexicon 'Abdullahy Zindaabad' [Long live Abdullah] one accompanying Butt asked to throw a grenade on the public, which he was carrying, he later said that these are our own people and our fight is not with **them**¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰³. *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴. Source: Sheikh Nazir Ahmad, General Secretary N.C.

¹⁰⁵. Source: Abdul Rashid Dar.

¹⁰⁶. Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar.

¹⁰⁷. Citation needed.

Sana Ullah Magray, a Bank Manager at Lanagate was killed by Reyaz Dar¹⁰⁹ but unsupported version subscribe that he was mistakenly fired by Ramzan Shikari (Hunter) because Bank Manager and Maqbool Butt had reached to the understanding that he[Maqbool] needed an amount of 4000 (INR) and promised the manager to pay back after returning from Azad Kashmir, for the cover Butt had made a dramatic scene so that people believe that dacoity had really taken place, he straight away took Magray to the nearest orchard, where Shikari was looking for the prey when, he heard the noise, Ramzan directly fired upon Sana Ullah by his 12 bore rifle, which brought the attention of police and made arrest possible^{xxxvii},— and the diary of was recovered from a nearby stream by a women present there, who later, on the same day told police about it and then police came to know about Maqbool, otherwise they thought he was a simple criminal, next day when Alvi came to know about the arrest of Butt in Muzzaffarabad, directly went to clinic of Dr. Farooq Haider at Rawalpindi and told him that Maqbool has been arrested, this news perturbed him to the great extent¹¹⁰.

But, whatever may be the Prima Facie evidence, it is clear from both the cases of murder [Amar Chand and Sana Ullah Magray] that Maqbool^{xxxviii} was not involved in the crime¹¹¹. Perhaps in ending June or beginning July 1976 a meeting of PRF was held—pros and cons of Kashmir resistance movement were discussed with the special focus on finances and it was decided that everyone who is the member of the party must get adjusted to an appropriate position in government as employees or start their own business, this was also discussed individually¹¹².

Abdul Gani Lone^{xxxix} along with Muhammad Asharaf Khan besides other eight MLA's defected in LA and gave support to NC in Assembly, Thursday 16th March 1977 Congress-I withdrew support to the Sheikh Abdullah government and on Friday 17th March 1977 Governor's rule was imposed in J&K.

On the other hand a meeting of erstwhile Al' Fatah men[selected persons] on non-party basis [without consideration of PRF], was called over Assembly elections in Jammu and Kashmir

at Islamabad (Anantnag) in mid-April, 1977¹¹³ presided by Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer and attended by Gulzar Ahmad Khaki, Muhammad Maqbool Malik, Nisar Hussain Mir and some senior leaders. Deceit done by Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh was brought into discussion, one person¹¹⁴ in the meeting floated an idea that they should field Nissar Hussain Mir against Afzal Beigh with the condition to decide further course of

¹⁰⁸.Source: Muhammad Yusuf Gilkar.

¹⁰⁹ . Azam Inqilabi, Payam-e Hurriyat, Urdu, Publisher, Jammu Kashmir Mahaz-e-Azadi,2006,p.218.

¹¹⁰ . Source: Ghulam Mustafa Alvi.

¹¹¹ . Source: Gulzar Ahmad Khaki and Nisar Hussain Mir.

¹¹² . Source: Bashir Ahmad Bhat, Vice Chairman JKLF.

¹¹³ . Citation needed.

action seconded by Maqbool Malik. However, it was unanimously decided to boycott Assembly Elections of 1977, the only option left, at the same time anti- Sheikh Abdullah procession was taken by female students from Rani Bagh Anantnag, for his bad policies over Kashmir, which was also joined by daughter of P.L Handoo.

PRF an amalgam of Young Men's League, Youth League, Unity Meet and Al' Fatah, which Zehgeer, on 7th May 1977, Saturday converted into Pro-Independent political organization Mahaz-e-Azadi at Golbagh Srinagar headed by Sofi Muhammad Akber— erstwhile leader of PF, canvassing to this event was done by Zehgeer and Jameel Shaheen, although the move about PRF formation was taken by GRZ^{xi}, seconded by Bashir Ahmad Bhat, Nisar Hussain Mir, Abdul Hai Baderwahi, Muhammad Iqbal Beigh [but not joined MeA], Gulzar Ahmad Khaki [not joined MeA], *Ghulam Hassan Shaksaz [not joined MeA]*, *Bashir Ahmad Zarger [not joined MeA]*, but all strongly supported him [Zehgeer] in jail—Sofi Abdul Rehman, Muhammad Maqbool Malik, Muhammad Iqbal Mir, Mushtaq Ahmad Pandith, Ghulam Muhammad Lara, Muhammad Shafi Misgher and Ghulam Hassan Ganai were accompanying Sofi Mohammad Akber^{xlii} at Golbagh.

12th September 1976, Sunday, Delhi-Jaipur bound Indian Airlines aircraft was hijacked to Lahore by resistance activists, Hamid Diwani [died in 1993], Muhammad. Rafiq, Abdul Rashid Malik, Muhammad. Ahsan Pathan, Gh. Nabi Bhatt and Gh. Rasool Shaheen.

Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh in the same year (1976) had arrived to a stage, where he was about to shun politics and was completely dejected because of several reasons, and one among them was parallel role of Ghulam Muhammad Shah in N.C, and was in suspicion that Kashmiris might be thinking that they (Sheikh and Beigh^{xliii}) have failed to restore even 1953 position on Kashmir but in early 1977 at Jammu airport¹¹⁵, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah put his right arm on the right shoulder of Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh and convinced him to participate in Assembly elections, which was obeyed by Beigh, on the reasons that he used to give full respect and love to his leader, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and he gave up his earlier stand¹¹⁶

Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh started aggressive campaign and proved a crowd puller for N.C usually showing salt wrapped in green handkerchief as a part of damage control. Mandates were allotted to those people who were either the relatives of top rank party leaders or their friends, creating confusion in the rank and file of National Conference. Organisational outlook appeared more autocratic in character than the democratic one— with totalitarian command. In a protest, Dr. Abdul Majeed Shiekh, Advocate Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Shawl, Advocate G.R Kochak, Advocate Abdul Samad Tak and several others contested on the ticket of Janta Party¹¹⁷. Even, Ab. Rashid Dar contested on the ticket of Janta Party for Shangus constituency^{xliii}, encouraged by Kh. Ab. Gani Lone—then a tall leader of Janta Party. Ab. Rashid Dar even delivered a

¹¹⁴. Citation needed.

¹¹⁵. Citation needed.

¹¹⁶. Nissar Hussain Mir.

¹¹⁷. Source: Advocate Abdul Samad Tak.

speech against Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh at old Mattan Adda, the rally was also addressed by Ab. Gani Lone.

Two days before Assembly Elections of 1977 for anti-election campaign a Tanga (Chariot) arranged by Nissar Hussain by paying 5.00 (INR) for the full day while as public address system arranged by Malik Maqbool free of cost from Ghulam Rasool Moori, who was running a radio shop in main Chowk Anantnag, tanga went every nook and corner of Anantnag town calling, 'Boycott', 'Boycott', 'Election', 'Boycott' and saying, " **Aay Allah Hamein Apnoun Sey Bachow, Garoon Sey Hum Khud Hi Nipat Layein Gey**" [Oh` Almighty save us from our own people, enemies will be dealt of our own] "— a slogan coined by Maqbool Butt, drew a very little attention of people towards them at Lal Chowk, Mattan Chowk and Mehandi Kadal of Anantnag town. Sunday 3rd July 1977, Fifth Assembly elections held. National Conference secured 44 seats, followed by the Janta Party with 13 seats and Congress-I with 11 seats. 67% voters cast their ballot. 9th July 1977, Saturday, Sheikh Abdullah sworn as the Chief Minister with a massive mandate and later on, withdrew all the cases of youth pending in various courts of the state ^{xliv}.

September 1977, on the persistent advice of several youth, affiliated with SIO, was converted into Islami [Jamait-e-**Tolba** ^{xlv}], led by Sheikh Tajamul Hussain and Abdul Hamid **Khan** ¹¹⁸.

In 1978 the Indian Supreme Court restored death sentence on Maqbool Butt and he was transferred to Delhi's Tihar Prison. The Black Warrant issued by Judge Nilkant Ganjoo in a special court issued on 17th August 1968 against Maqbool Butt was endorsed by Jammu Special Judge Puttar **Singh** ^{xlvi} and he [Butt] was hanged to death on 11th February 1984, Saturday at 7.30AM, while as the legal team was waiting for Maqbool Butt's case to be reopened on the grounds of flaws in the trial of the convicted for murder.

¹¹⁸ . Azam Inqilabi, Payam-e Hurriyat, Urdu, Publisher, Jammu Kashmir Mahaz-e-Azadi, 2006, p. 65.



Photos of Zehgeer@Gaznavi@Rehman@Maqbool@GRZ

Notes

- i. Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer born 1941, was not having any political background, nor was he, by any stretch of imagination, from amongst the ranks of Kashmir's oppressed. Having matriculated from the Nawakadal High school in Srinagar in 1958, Zehgeer had joined the Amar Singh college, but dropped out after just a single year of studies. For the next several years, he hopped from job to job, first working as a travelling salesman and then for a Kashmiri businessman in the Indian commercial hub of Bombay. He left this job soon afterwards, and returned to Kashmir to work as a clerk at a local government office in Sonawar, Srinagar, but this job did not last long either. On the eve of the beginning of his political career, in November 1964, Zehgeer was appointed as a clerical assistant at Kashmir University. Zehgeer died on 4th June 2004 due to throat cancer.
- ii. Mixed economy was the outlook of Indian State to run financial system, much focused on Public Sector Units .
- iii. Qari Saif Ud Din maintained that PF disheartened Kashmiris, and is on way to Delhi[supporter] and want to come within the reach of escapism – first step towards this was to organize peoples convention at Mujahid Manzil, which was inaugurated by J.P Narain. I was also invited. In the beginning everyone stood on their principle stand, expressed their views but some concrete steps were to be taken for the resolution of Kashmir, already decided –and the solution is to be carved in such a manner that it should give boost to the secular forces. On this issue I objected, because to empower secular forces literally means India, secularism is the slogan of India. I further said that to call a convention in Kashmir, one gets clear that we [Kashmiris] are not associated with any of the state. Whether to accede with Pakistan or to make conditional [temporary] accession with India permanent or to make an agreement with both about the creation of Independent state. In fact, keeping in view I will not use any such a word or phrase, which will give an impression that where our leadership is heading. [probably arrested on these charges, for a period of two years].
Source: Syed Ali Geelani, Wullar Kinaray, Urdu, Markazi Maktaba, Tehreek-e-Hurriyat, Srinagar, 2011. p552. Balraj Puri, Vaid Bhasin and O.N Trichel also expressed their views, and even presented papers.
- iv. After one and a half month painstaking efforts on the intervening night of Sunday/Monday, 8th and 9th December 1968, he successfully escaped from the Jail along with Mir Ahmad and Yasin Badana, crossed over to other part of Kashmir via Kamalkot area, and in AJK subjected to ill treatment, lodged in notorious interrogation centre of Pakistan Administered Kashmir.
- v. It was April 1970, when Abdul Rashid Dar was coming in the vehicle of Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh, when the vehicle reached Barsoo, Pulwama, he asked the driver to stop the vehicle, earlier told Beigh that he had some piece of work at Barsoo, the movement Dar came down from the Jeep, the driver followed him on the directions of Afzal and later on conveyed the same to Beigh, another twist took to the scene, one of the Al' Fatah operative of Bidderwah was purchasing some material from a

nearby shop, later on discussion took place on Dar's coming to safe house Shalimar and stopping of Jeep, it led to several suspicions among all the active members of the organization. On this matter court of Al' Fatah was summoned at Srinagar's Safe house Nishat attended by Nazir Ahmad Wani, Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, Muhammad Yousuf Mir and others, major proposal was the execution of Dar, for leaking the secret. Then it was left to Zehgeer for the further decision, he directed Dar to use all of his possible abilities, so, that Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh will support the armed resistance movement, because Beigh had no other option but to support it, if he could have negated the offer then probably that might have proven counterproductive to PF, President in terms of political market especially among youth, who were at forefront.

Narrated by Muhammad Yousuf Mir, one of the founding members of Young Men's League.

- vi. Late 1968, Shabir Ahmad Shah had close proximity with CPI(ML) and was influenced by Naxalite movement. He also attended several meetings of CPI(ML) but did not join. G. N Malik remained hidden at the home of Shabir Ahmad Shah for several days, when wanted by police. In 1972, joined Students and Youth League and finally to Peoples League.

Narrated by Ghulam Ahmad Ganie then activist of CPI(ML)[then a close friend of Shabir Shah] and Ghulam Nabi Malik, General Secretary Kisan Tehreek of [CPIML]), later he[Shabir] joined Young Men's League finally to Peoples League.

- vii. Later on two groups allegedly to be Naxalites in Kashmir[Jammu and Kashmir] emerged, one was led by Ram Paira Saraf, supported by Abdul Kabir Wani[Haanad, Chawalgam Kulgam] and another by Krishen Dev Sethi, supported by Gh. Muhammad Malik and Muhammad Yusuf(Danter). Youth who were affiliated with CPI(ML) in Kashmir were inspired by literature of Urdu especially Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Sardar Jafri and the contemporary progressive poets and that of Krishan Chand, Khawaja Ahmad Abbas, Kaifi Azami and of the creative art.

Kashmiri literature of Abdul Ahad Azad, Ghulam Ahmad Mehjoor had influenced the CPIML youth of Kashmir, they had also their own like-minded organ Aaa'sh, not the official one. Basically were young angry men having antiestablishment tendencies and the concern of human sufferings in Kashmir. When we were arrested on the charges of Pulwama robbery, we were not even knowing a single persons of Al' Fatah, which talks of their well structured organizational network and after the exposure of whole Al' Fatah, we came to know that some of them were our friends and relatives. We were not armed but something wrong was lurking in establishment, probably that they might lift arms as a means of struggle or resistance, no matter it was one of our options. We put one of the segment of Srinagar Jail on fire and in assault one police person was killed and we were shifted to Jammu, then to Kuthua and finally to Reasi, were, we demanded up- gradation of class to Pakistani detainees and several other jail mates.

Source: Manzoor Ahmad Khaki.

- viii. Final for the Cricket Tournament played between Islamia Cricket Club Anantnag and Rising Sports Club Anantnag— venue [Anantnag], the Chief Guest of the function was Superintendent of Police Anantnag [Koitroo] and Guest of Honour Principal Degree College Anantnag.

- ix. But on 15th January, 1971, Friday Abdul Rashid Dar called Nissar Hussain Mir of Anantnag telephonically to his friend's residence situated at Reshi Bazaar, Anantnag at 9.30PM, phone first picked up by Prof. Ghulam Muhammad Qazi, Zamtur [Son-in-Law of the family]— a renowned Mathematician, Critique, Analyst of his times—but Dar Managed to divert his attention, Qazi told to in-laws that some person with bad manners is calling, Nissar and his friend understood and immediately rushed to the phone extension and attended the phone call and Dar advised Nissar, not to go underground, police has suspicion not the proof, about Al' Fatah. And Abdul Rashid Dar met Zehgeer one day earlier and told everything about Jammu, even confirmed by Abdul Rashid Dar.

- x. A recruit and close friend of Farooq, a member of Al' Fatah V, arrested on Tuesday, 5th January 1971 and after third degree interrogation, broke down and made the arrest of Nazir Ahmad Wani possible on Saturday, 16th January 1971 and even revealed to the police that Nizam a Captain or Vice Capitan of Rising Sports Anantnag was the active member of armed organization both persons of Cricket team were arrested. Same day [16th January 1971] evening Nazir Ahmad Wani straight away identified Nissar Hussain Mir at Red 16

- Interrogation Centre Sonwar, Srinagar.
- xi. Rehman[Zehgeer] had reposed complete trust upon the cadre of South Kashmir and Doda, it was the main reason that major activities and decisions were taken from Anantnag.
 - xii. It was nonsensical and argued that the then NLF cadre could be counted on the fingers of hand, in defence Hashim stated in an article which appeared in a Jammu based newspaper, quoting KH Khurshid in his defence. Why did Yaha's military destroy the plane? Because by then it had decided to jettison East Pakistan and also because it was inept beyond belief with some very strange notions. Source: Friday Times, Lahore, Pakistan, April 11th 2003, Vol. XV No:7 Article: The Truth about the Ganga Hijacking /By; Khalid Hassan
 - xiii. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and Afzal Beigh were living in exile at New Delhi.
 - xiv. Although earlier name of Abdul Gani Madhoosh was subscribed by PF members of Anantnag for contesting Parliament Elections but he [Madhoosh] rejected the offer, which were in offing.
 - xv. It was rumoured that on the day of polling Ghulam Rasool Imam, Ameer-e- Tehsil Jamaat was slapped by Mufti Muhammad Saeed at Bejbehara, in a protest he [Imam] shouted "Boycott Boycott"—a political publicity stunt— in quid pro quo contributions, received an amount of 7000 (INR) and galvanized roofing sheets for his house[a common perception]but denied by family members of Ghulam Rasool. And supporters of Shafi Qureshi went to various places of Anantnag Parliamentary Constituency mostly by buses displaying flags of JeI and shouting for election boycott, a plan constructed by Mufti Saeed, when some active supporters of Jamaat came to know about this issue in the afternoon, they straight away went to Ghulam Ahmad[Shah]Ahrar [then Ameer-e-Zila(District President) of the party]at Anantnag [Islamabad] who expressed ignorance —straightforward and a simpleton person. Several polling agents of JeI were ruthlessly beaten up and some threatened for dire consequences, thus the Parliamentary Elections in Kashmir were completely rigged. But from declassified versions one gets the clear picture that Hakeem Ghulam Nabi was an honest, dedicated human being but became of victim of mistaken pronouncement.Source: Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Baba, 2012.
 - xvi. Mridula Sarabai was a lady Parliamentarian, who used to support Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh in their political adventurism, even monetarily.
 - xvii. Awami League had won elections on the issues, which were dangerous for the existence of Pakistan, like multiple currencies in one country, which in itself means to challenge the writ of one state.
 - xviii. Later Joined N.C Youth Wing (Gen. Secretary), Mufti Mehra'ej as President.
 - xix. Neutral commentators say that behind the making of all these organizations and the differences within was Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh, to keep his writ.
Source: Prof. G. M Shad.
 - xx. Dr. Khaliq Ansari, President Plebiscite Front (Azad Kashmir unit) and Majeed Amjad Bhat, Editor (weekly Wullar), Urdu of Azad Kashmir, wrote a letter to Muhammad Yousuf Gilkar for supporting Independence and on 13th July, Monday, Muhammad Yousuf Gikkar, Mir Qaiser and Gazanfer Ali met Sofi Muhammad Akber at martyrs graveyard in Srinagar and were arrested by police on the charges of fomenting law and order problem in Srinagar.
 - xxi. Arrested, on 8th August and released on December 1972 on Parole.Who was the 1st General Secretary of PF. Source: Prof. G.MShad.
 - xxii. Who was the 1st General Secretary of PF. Source: Prof. G.M Shad.
 - xxiii. Except Al' Fatah detainees and 'Upkaar' of Manoj Kumar was arranged for all the detainees.
 - xxiv. Kh. Abdul Gani Lone was an astute politician and having the mettle of political prognosis, not a pro-Indian.
Source: Prof. G. M Shad.
 - xxv. In Jammu and Kashmir, the Line of Control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from threat or the use of force in violation of this Line(sub-clause ii) .
 - xxvi. Citation needed, whether it was the Governor house or something else.
 - xxvii. Parrey in 1994-94 turned renegade [counter militancy leader] and later was killed by militants.

- XXVIII. It was only Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh, who was knowing about the availability of Book in the college. Because all the volumes of the "Book of Knowledge" belonged to the mission school library, Anantnag. Where, Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh had been a student. The library books of Mission where transferred to Govt. Inter College Anantnag in 1950.
Source: Prof. G.M Shad)
- XXIX. Only five persons were detained in Srinagar Central Jail in 1973, which include Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, Abdul Hai Baderwahi, Nisar Hussain Mir, Muhammad Saleem Gilkar and Muhammad Yousuf Mir@Tariq.
- XXX. Mufti Muhammad Saeed was putting at the rented house, belonging to Muhammad Ismail Haji at Reshi Bazar Anantnag and a teacher Maharaj Krishan Tickoo used to teach his children, where he[Tickoo] had seen Muhammad Ramzan Mishger usually on different discourse. Adjacent to the rented house of Mufti Muhammad Saeed was a baker and his very close friend Ramzan[Letthem] who was an illiterate but quite often used a word 'Let Them' thus became his nickname.
- XXXI. However some neutral commentators say that the plan was actually prepared by Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh at the behest of Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. The motive behind this was to disrupt and intimidate Molvi Muhammad Farooq (The successor of 'Bakra' Party. Further his activities were to be curbed (i.e. keep within "Molvi- Limb" Source: Prof. G. M Shad.
- xxxii. Supporting United Jammu and Kashmir, Right to Self-determination and Independent Kashmir.
- XXXIII. To show that Al' Fatah men were the real crusaders.
Source: Muhammad Yusuf Mir[Verinag].
- XXXIV. Writer Nirmal Mitra said that "these photographs were handed over to us by Mufti Muhammad Saeed.
- XXXV. Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah used to Call Sonum Norbu a golden sparrow.
- XXXVI. Mirza Muhammad Afzal ridiculously told him to leave the Mujahid Manzil.
- XXXVII. Then second time given death penalty by the State court of Kashmir.
- xxxviii. On 29th May 1977, Aman Ullah Khan formed JKLF in Birmingham, UK and declared Maqbool Butt as a leader of the Party, when he was in Indian jail.
- XXXIX. Later on Ab. Gani Lone contested 5th Assembly Elections of 1977 on the ticket of Janta Party and June 1979 he formed J&K People's Conference.
- xl. Zehgeer remained active for a short spell of time in MeA, quit politics and started his own business, a Joinery Mill at Ashaji Pora[Moominabad], Anantnag under the name and style Yakoot, several commentators say that domestic compulsions made him to take such decision and even though advised by top brass of the party at that time like Bashir Ahmad Bhat not by Sofi Muhammad Akber, in place of GRZ, Advocate Mushtaq Ahmad Pandith was taken as General Secretary of MeA.
- xli. Sofi Muhammad Akber was the senior leader of PF, who openly opposed Indira- Abdullah accord and as per some classified reports he was indirectly in contact with Muhammad Yusuf Bach, former diplomat of Pakistan—unofficially supporting independence of Kashmir, narrated by Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, 2012.
- xlii. For Sheikh- Beigh differences during accord preparations and after the accord Shahim Ahmad Shamin was to some extent responsible for the mess, because Afzal Beigh was the most influential personality in whole NC after Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah. The secret part in alienating Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah from Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh was played by Begum Abdullah[Akber Jahan], who had pressed her husband to patronise Dr. Farooq Abdullah and declare him his successor. This slingshot killed two birds in a single go (Ghulam Muhammad Shah and Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh). Source: Muhammad Yousuf Gilkar.
- xliii. In March 1976, Abdul Rashid Dar was expelled from NC by the active lobbying of Muhammad Yaqoob Beigh, Abdul Gani Shah[Veer] and Abdul Salam Deva, when the party election of NC were taking place, at that time NC, President Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh was in London in connection with Parliamentary Conference. Malik Ghulam- Ud-Din and Sona Ullah Bhat were supporting Abdul Rashid Dar for Tehsil President seat of NC, but some NC non delegates voted during elections, which led to the severe quarrel within the party manifold, started by Abdul Rashid Nanvai [not the delegate of NC] and Muhammad Yaqoob Beigh was declared elected as Zonal President of NC. After the return

- of Mirza Muhammad Afzal Beigh, he declared the Dar's expelling unconstitutional and retained his membership, but later came under domestic pressure and revoked his decision.
- xliv. On the intervention of Chaudhary Charan Singh, by the persuasion of some members of Young Men's League. Source: Muhammad Yusuf Mir [Verinag].
- xlv. It's basic idea was propounded by Maqbool Butt and not by Sheikh Tajamul Hussain, mostly misinterpreted. In the first it was started in three colleges—Government Degree College Anantnag and Government Amar Singh College Srinagar, then by G. M Konga [Degree College Baramulla], Muhammad Yusuf [Bejbehara], G.M Shad was also affiliated with it but party was different in its structure than that of Jel owned, Jamait-e-Tolba. Narrated by Prof. G.M Shad.
- xlvi. Even the approval given by NC government led by Dr. Farooq Abdullah then the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

Reference

Chapter 5

Members of Al' Fatah

(Some key leaders of Al' Fatah are not included in the list)

Al' Fatah Persons Operational in Srinagar

(1) Mian Altaf Hussain S/O Mian Ghulam Nabi

R/O Tulsi Bagh, Srinagar /Student 3rd (TDC)

(2) Abdul Rashid Rather S/O Mohammad Sultan Rather

R/O Barzullah , Srinagar Occupation / Businessman

(3) Mohammad Yusuf Mir S/o Abdul Rehman Mir

R/O Mir Manzal, Amar Singh, College , Srinagar

Occupation /Businessman

(4) Abdul Rashid Shawal S/O Ahmad Ullah Shawal R/OBarain

Pathri , Batamaloo Srinagar Occupation/ Businessman

(5) Amin Ali Bhat R/O Suthra Shahi , Srinagar

Occupation/Businessman

(6) Mohammad Maqsood S/O Kh. Ahmad Ullah Shawal

R/O Barain Pathri , Batamaloo, Srinagar

Occupation /Businessman

(7) Ghulam Nabi Malik (Sofi) S/O Ghulam Rasool Malik

R/O Malik Aangan, Srinagar Occupation / M. Sc Final

(8) Abdul Rashid Gani S/O Ghulam Rasool Ganai R/ONowpora,

Srinagar Occupation/Typist (Asstt. Engineer's Office)

(9) Mehraj-Ud Din Mufti S/O Late Ghulam Ud Din Mufti

R/O Omaryar, Sonwar Srinagar Occupation Lawyer

(10) Raja Shamin R/O Kathi Darwaza , Srinagar

Student TDC (Final) Ghandi College

(11) Abdul Majeed Ganai S/O Ghulam Rasool Ganai

R/O Nowpora, Srinagar Student (Graduation Final

TDC)

(12) Noor UD Din Shah S/O Nizam Ud Din Shah R/O

Karan Nagar, Srinagar Occupation Employees SBI,

Srinagar

(13) Ali Mohammad Sofi R/O Nowhata, Srinagar

Occupation /Malaria Inspector

(14) Syed Aliyas R/O Brein, Nishat, Srinagar Student TDC

(Final)

(15) Abdul Gaffar R/O Chirgari Mohalla, Srinagar,

Occupation/Accountant

(16) Ghulam Mohammad Khan R/O Islamabad

Student /MA, Pol. Science

(17) Javid Ahmad Geelani S/O Nizam Ud Din Geelani R/

OKunan Poshipora Student TDC (Student)

(18) Abdul Qayoom Shah R/O Baramullah Occupation/

Shopkeeper

(19) Mohi-Ud Din Hajam S/O Abdul Shaban Hajam R/O
Bandipora Student (Elcative)

(20) Mohammad Yasin Wani S/O Ghulam Mohi Ud Din

R/O Daribal Bohri Kadal Student/ B.Sc
(21) Ghulam Nabi Zargar S/O Ghulam Rasool Zargar
R/O Daribal Bohri Kadal Student / B.Com
(22) Mohammad Aslam S/O Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din R/O
Daribal Bohri Kadal Student / B.Com
(23) Jahangir Khan S/O Allah Dad Khan R/O Bagh-e-
Mehtab Srinagar. Occupation/N.A
(24) Syed Sarwar S/O N R/O Nawakadal, Srinagar

Al' Fatah persons operational in Anantnag

(1) Nissar Hussain Mir S/O Ghulam Mohammad Mir R/
O Mohalla , Mehman Anantnag Student / 1st TDC
(2) Mohammad Saleem Gilkar S/O Abdul Ahad Gilkar
R/O Mohalla , Mehman,Anantnag Student 1st TDC
(3) Hamid Ullah Bhat S/O Habib Ullah Bhat R/O
Mehman-Mohalla Anantnag Student / 1st TDC
(4) Mohammad Amin Lone S/O Sona Ullah Lone R/
oLaizbal , Kadipora , Anantnag Student / 1st TDC
(5) Bashir Ahmad Bashir S/O Teacher Abdul Rashid R/
O Mattan, Adda , Anantnag Student / TDC (Student)
(6) Ghulam Hassan Shaksaz S/O Abdul Gani Shaksaz R/
O Mohalla Shaksaz Anantnag Occupation / N.A
(7) Mohammad Amin Bhat S/O Ghulam Mohammad Bhat
R/O Danger pora, Anantnag Occupation/ Govt.
Employee

(8) Sheikh Nisar Ahmad S/O Dr. Abdul Majeed Sheikh
R/O Khawaja Mir Ali Anantnag Student / B.Sc
(9) Syed Gull Mohammad Geelani S/O Syed Ghulam
Rasool R/O Kralteng Anantnag Student /PUC
(10) Bashir Ahmad Zargar S/O Abdul Samad Zargar R/O
Danger Pora, Anantnag Occupation/ Teacher
(11) Mohammad Sayed Khan S/O Ghulam Hassan Khan
R/O Kralteng, Anantnag Student / 2nd TDC
(12) Gulzar Ahmad Khaki S/O Mohammad Abdullah R/O
Kralyar-Mohalla , Anantnag Occupation/Teacher
13) Mohammad Amin Haji S/O Mohammad Ismail Haji
R/O Malla Mohalla, Anantnag Occupation/N.A
(14) Mohammad Maqbool Malik S/O Abdul Gaffar Malik
R/O Hanji Danter, Anantnag Student/1st TDC

(15) Abdul Rashid Sheikh S/O Abdul Gani Sheikh R/O Mattan Adda, Anantnag Occupation/N.A

(16) Nazir Ahmad Dar S/O Ghulam Ahmad Dar R/O Danger Pora, Anantnag Occupation/Shopkeeper

(17) Molvi Javaid Ahmad S/O Molvi Abdul Hamid R/O Housing Colony Anantnag Student / 1st TDC

(18) Manzoor Ahmad Kuchay S/O Ghulam Mohammad Kuchay R/O Qazi Mohalla Anantnag Student /Final (TDC)

(19) Ghulam Nabi Shah S/O Ghulam Hassan Shah R/O Takia Sepin , Khanabal Anantnag Student / BSC

(20) Ghulam Mohammad S/O Abdul Samad R/O Mohalla Khawaja Mir Ali Anantnag Student / 1st TDC

(21) Ghulam Mohamamd Sodagher S/O Mohammad Ramzan Sodagher R/O Qazi Mohalla Anantnag Occupation/Inspector , Panchayat

(22) Mohammad Hussain Peer R/O Kadapora, Achabal ,Anantnag Occupation/ Manager Cooperative

(23) Abdul Rahim Khan R/O Tral , Anantnag Occupation /Horticulture Assistant

(24) Bashir Ahmad S/O Mohammad Ahsan Mir R/O Shopyan, Bongam Occupation / Agriculture Assistant

(25) Wali Mohmmad Ganai S/O Kh. Mohammad Ismail Ganai R/O Shopyan , Bongam Occupation/ Horticulture Assistant

(26) Ghulam Mohi-Ud Din BhatR/O Khiram (Bijbehara) Occupation /V.L.W

(27) Sa'dullah Sheikh R/O Dialgam, Anantnag Occupation/ V.L.W

(28) Peer Ghulam Ahmad Shah R/O Bul Bul Nowgam , Anantnag Occupation/ V.L.W

(29) Ghulam Mohammad Shah R/O Monghal (Anantnag) Occupation V.L.W

(30) Mohammad Ishaq Gunju S/O Shamus Ud Din Gunju R/O Baba Mohalla (Bijbehara) Student / II TDC

- (31) Peer Gull Mohammad S/O Peer Hamid Ullah
R/O Bijbehara (Anantnag) Occupation / N.A
- (32) Ghulam Rasool Badder S/O Ghulam Qadir Badder
R/O Bijbehara (Anantnag) Student / H.S.E
- (33) Bashir Ahmad Katsho S/O Ghulam Hassan Katsho
R/O Tak Mohalla (Bijbehara)Anantnag
Student /F T.D.C
- (34) Mohammad Akber Nengroo S/O Ghulam Ahmad
Nengroo R/O Khiram , Sirhama, Anantnag
Student/ I T.D.C
- (35) Ghulam Mohammad Wani S/O Habib Ullah Wani
R/O Mir Maidan Dooru, Anantnag
Student/T.D.C- II
- (36) Gull Mohammad Ganai /O Ghulam Mohammad Ganai
R/OWagam , Pulwama
Student / B.Sc- S Govt. Employee
- (37) Mushtaq Ahmad R/O Pulwama
Law Student
- (38) Ghulam Rasool Teli S/O Sona Ullah Teli
R/O Goriwan, Bijbehara , Anantnag Student/H.S.E
- (39) Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Bhat R/O Shopyan , Drabni
Nagbal Occupation / Farmer
- (40) Shabir Ahmad Shah S/O Ghulam Nabi Shah
R/O Baba Mohalla , Bijbehara, Anantnag
Student / 12th Class
- (41) Nazir Ahmad Gatoo S/O Mumma Joo Gatoo
R/O Vaid Mohalla ,Bijbehara, Anantnag
Occupation/ Shopkeeper
- (42) Ghulam Mustafa Shah S/O Mohammad Yusuf Shah
R/O Baba , Mohalla , Bijbehara , Anantnag
Student Final T.D.C
- (43) Ghulam Abbas Naik S/O Mohammad Naik R / O
Post Office Banihal Neel
Student / P.U.C
- (44) Harroon Ul Rashid S/O Ghulam Nabi Nenngroo
Kapran, Shopyan
Student / 1st T.D.C
- (45) Mohammad Aslam S/O Abdul Ali
R/O Kadipora ,Anantnag

Student / 1st TDC

(46) Bashir Ahmad Shah@Chota

S/O Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din

R/O Bijbehara Student / M.Sc

947) Mohammad Ismail Najar

S/O Mohammad Abdullah Najar

R/O Ahanger Mohalla, Bijbehara , Anantnag

(48) Gull Mohammad Mistri (Rafiqi) S/O Abdul Khaliq

R/O Hospital Road , Anantnag

Occupation Mechanic

(49) Nisar Ahmad Keen R/O Anantnag

(Low Profile, remained affiliated for only few days)

(50) Jameel Andrabi R/O Resi Bazar, Anantnag

(51) Ghulam Nabi R/O Kamad, Dialgam, Anantnag

Occupation/ Mechanic

(52) Bashir Ahmad Shah R/O Kralteng , Anantnag

Occupation/Student

(53) Mohammmd Amin Lone R/O Kadipora

(Student)

Al' Fatah Persons operational in North Kashmir

(1) Gh. Nabi Mir S/O Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Mir

R/O Dardpora Kupwara

Student / II T.D.C

(2) Ghulam Mohammad Shah S/O Abdul Rehman Shah

R/O Trehgam, Kupwara

Student /M.B.B.S

(3) Ghulam Nabi Shah S/O Khazir Mohammad Shah

R/O Trehgam Kupwara Occupation/NA

(4) Ghulam Ahmad Teeli S/O Ghulam Nabi Teeli

R/O LalaBaba Sahib Sopore

Occupation / Clerk Govt. Tpt.

(5) Mohammad Amin Bulla R/O Jamia Qadim, Sopore

Student /I T.D.C

(6) Ab. Kabir Bhat R/O Tarzu , Sopore

Student /II T.D.C

(7) Nazir Ahmad Khan R/O Babu Gund Unis, Sopore

Student/ II T.D.C

(8) Abdul Rashid Lone S/O Ghulam Mohammad Lone

R/O Wogub , Sangrama , Sopore

Student/ B.Sc.

(9) Mohammad Maqbool Shah S/O Abdul Jabar Shah

R/O Wogub , Sangrama , Sopore

Student / B.Sc.

(10) Bashir-UI Haq S/O Abdul Jabar R/O Wogub ,

Sangrama , Baramullah

Student/II T.D.C

(11) Mohammad Akram Lone S/O Mohammad Ramzan

Lone R/O NA Occupation /NA

(12) Ali Mohammad Teli S/O Abdul Wahab Teli

R/O Arampora Sopore Occupation/ Trader

(13) Ghulam Rasool Najar R/O Arampora Sopore

Occupation / N.A

(14) Mohmud-UI HassanS/OS.M Latief(Beg)

R/O Uri Student/ 12th Class

(15) Abdul Aziz Chengal R/O Arampora, Sopore

Occupation N.A

(16) Ghulam Ahmad Chenga R/O Arampora,

Occupation / N.A

(17) Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Teli R/O Arampora,

Occupation/N.A

(18) Mohammad Yusuf Kahoo R/O Arampora

Occupation / N.A

(19) Ab. Shaban Lone R/O Arampora, Sopore

Occupation /N.A

(20) Abdul Rehman Gojri R/O Trehgam Kupwara

Occupation /Shopkeeper

(21) Abdul Gani Zargar R/O Trehgam Kupwara

Student/Matric

(22) Ghulam Nabi Ahanger S/O Ghulam Ahmad Ahanger

R/O Trehgam Kupwara Occupation/ Blacksmith

(23) Abdul Aziz Wani S/O Abdul Majid Wani

R/O Trehgam Kupwara Student/ Matric

(24) Mohammad Munnawar Pir S/O Tayub Pir

R/O Dolipora Trehgam , Kupwara

Student Delhi

(25) Wali Mohammad Mir S/O Late Abdul Aziz Mir

R/O Bunapora Trehgam, Kupwara
Occupation/Agriculture Deptt.(Haryer)
(26) Mohammad Maqbool Wani S/O Abdul Gani Wani
R/O Dolipora , Trehgam, Kupwara
Occupation/ Farmer
(27) Habib Ullah Malik S/O Ghulam Qadir Malik
Trehgam, Kupwara.
Occupation/ Patwari
(28) Sana Ullah Mir S/O Late Assad Ullah Mir Trehgam,
Kupwara. Occupation /Trader
(29) Ghulam Mohammad Gojri S/O Fateh Mohammad
R/O Hayan Trehgam, Kupwara
Occupation / Farmer
(30) Rustum Malik S/O Lassa Malik
R/O Trehgam , Kupwara Occupation/ Farmer
(31) Khair Malik S/O Qadir Malik
R/O Hayan Trehgam, Kupwara
Occupation/Farmer
(32) Ab. Majid Masood S/O Ghulam Ahmad Pir
R/O Dolipora Trehgam, Kupwara
Occupation/ N.A
(33) Abdul Aziz Wani S/O Lasa Wani
R/O Trehgam, Kupwara Occupation/ N.A

(34) Khazir Mohammad Mir S/O Abdul Rehman Mir
Occupation/N.A
(35) Ghulam Ahmad Malik S/O Abdul Samad Malik
Occupation/Farmer
(36) Arshad Hussain R/O(Konan Babgund Bandipora)
Student B.Sc
(37) Mohammad Afzal Hajam S/O Abdul Raheem
R/O Bandipora Student / B.Sc
(38) Abdul Shaban Lone S/O Mohammad Sultan Lone
R/O Kunis Bandipora Occupation/ N.A
(39) Ghulam Mohammad Lone R/O Kunis Bandipora
Occupation / N.A
(40) Habib Ullah Mir S/O Assad Ullah Mir R/O NA
Occupation/ N.A
(41) Ghulam Rasool Lone S/O Abdul Khaliq Lone
R/O N.A Student/ PUC

- (42) Ghulam Mohammad Mir S/O Mohammad Sidiq Mir
R/O Kunis Bandipora
Occupation/ N.A
- (43) Abdul Khaliq Lone S/O Mukhta Lone
R/O Kunis Bandipora
Occupation/ N.A
- (44) Javid Ahmad Dewani R/O Bandipora
Occupation/ N.A
- (45) Abdul Gaffar Parray R/O Sonawari
Occupation/ N.A
- (46) Ghulam Mohammad Hurrah S/O Ab. Rahim Hurrah R/O Sumbal
Bandipora
Agriculture (Student)
- (47) Sheikh Bashir Ali S/O Sheikh Ghulam Rasool
R/O Watergan Behrampora, Baramullah
Student/II T.D.C
- (48) Abdul Hamid Teli
S/O Abdul Razak Teli
- (49) Yad Ullah S/O Mohammad Abdullah Dar
R/O Sanpora, Baramullah Student/ B.Sc
- (50) Gulzar Ahmad Hajam R/O Zalloora Sopore
Student/ B.Sc.
- (51) Ghulam Nabi Lone R/O Krankshiva , Sopore
Occupation / N.A
- (52) Ghulam Mohammad Sofi S/O Abdul Gaffar Sofi
R/O Balro Yusuf, Sopore Occupation/ N.A
- (53) Mohammad Shafi Bacha R/O Balro Yusuf, Sopore
Occupation /N.A
- (54) Mohammad Ashraf Sofi R/O Balro Yusuf, Sopore
Occupation / N.A
- (55) Mohammad Sarwar Khan R/O Wadura, Sopore
Occupation / N.A
- (56) Mushtaq Ahmad Malik R/O Sadpora , Sopore
Occupation/ N.A
- (57) Abdul Rahim Kuboo R/O Lala Baba Sahib , Sopore
Occupation / N.A
- (58) Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Mir R/O Adipora, Sopore
Occupation/ N.A
- (59) Rashid Ahmad Mir R/O Sopore Occupation / N.A

(60) Ali Mohammad Ganai R/O Sopore
Occupation/ N.A

(61) Ghulam Mohammad Mushtaq R/O Sopore
Occupation/ N.A

(62) Ghulam Hassan Hijazi R/O Sopore
Occupation / N.A

(63) Mohammad Yusuf Bhat R/O Sopore
Occupation/ N.A

(64) Yusuf- Bn- Zubair S/O Abdul Jabbar[Zubair]
R/O Krankshiven Student/ I TDC

(65) Ghulam Nabi Dar R/OHathi Shah , Sopore
Occupation/ N.A

(66) Mohammad Sultan Resu R/OHathi Shah , Sopore
Occupation/ N.A

(67) Ghulam Ahmad Mir S/O Kh. Samandar Mir
R/O Dadsan Kralchapora Kupwara
Student / 12th Class

(68) Abdul Rashid R/ODu-Aabgah , Sopore
Occupation/ N.A

(69) Bashir Ahmad S/O Moahmmad Yusuf Shah
R/O Kichlamme ,Baramullah
Occupation/ Horticulture, Assistant

(70) Mohammad Akber Bhat R/O Tujir Sharief, Sopore
Occupation/ N.A

(71) Noor Mohammad Wani R/O Safa Pora , Sonawari
Occupation/ N.A

(72) Abdul Ahad Malla R/ODu-Aabgah, Sopore
Occupation / N.A

(73) Ali Mohammad Wani S/O Mubarak Wani
R/OLaderwan Kupwara
Occupation / N.A

(74) Mosa Ali Pandith R/OAoora Bala
Occupatioin/ N.A

(75) Mohammad Shaban Kumar R/O Harigam, Shopian
(Agri. Student, Sopore)

(76) Abdul Rashid Khan S/O Abdul Hamid Khan
R/O Abiguzar, Srinagar (Agri. Student , Sopore)

(77) Ghulam Mohammad Naikoo
S/O Haji Ghulam Mohi-Ud Din

R/O Seloo, Sopore Student / 12th Class
(78) Mohammad Shafi S/O Haji Abdul Aziz R/O Seloo
Sopore Student / Businessman
(79) Saif Ud Din Shah S/O Abdul Salam Shah
R/O Seloo Sopore Occupation/ Draftsman
(80) Ghulam Mohi-Ud Din S/O Kh. Abdul Kabir
R/O Soura , Srinagar Occupation / N.A
(81) Abdul Gaffar Bhat S/O Kh. Abdul Ahmad Bhat
R/O Prang Hajan Occupation/ I TDC
(82) Farooq Ahmad Bhat S/O Kh. Abdul Khaliq
R/O Sadarkote Bala Dudwan Sonawari
Student/ 1st MBBS

(83) Mohammad Shaban Khawja(Vakil) S/O Kh.
Mohammad Khalil R/O Seloo, Sopore
Occupation /Govt. Employee
(84) Abdul Rashid Pir S/O Pir Abdul Gani
R/O Pir Mohalla, Sopore Occupation / II TDC
(85) Abdul Gani Zarger R/O Trehgam, Kupwara
Occupation/Goldsmith
(86) Ali Mohammad Bhat R/O Bandipora
Occupation/ N.A
(87) Mushtaq Ahmad Khan R/O Bandipora
Occupation/NA
(88) Abdul Ahad Pandit R/O Dooru Zainageer, Sopore
Occupation/ N.A
(89) Abdul Gani Sheikh S/O Wali Mohammad Sheikh
R/O Barmullah Occupation/ N.A
(90) Haji Ghulam Mohammad Rather R/O
Magrigund Sopore Occupation/ Electrical Mechanic
(91) Syed Ibrahim Kunali R/O Kunail Sopore
Student /TDC
(92) Abdul Gani Mir R/O Trehgam Kupwara
Student /TDC
(93) Wali Mohammad (Elderly) R/O Trehgam Kupwara
Occupation/NA

(Persons with All Jammu & Kashmir Young Men's League)

(1) Abdul Rashid Dar (President)

(2) Mohammad Yusuf Mir (Gen. Secretary)

- (3) Mohammad Saleem Beigh
- (4) Sofi Sona Ullah
- (5) Mohammad Yusuf Azad
- (6) Ghulam Mohammad Malik
- (7) Bashir Ahmad Wani
- (8) Mohammad Maqbool Shaheen

AI' Fatah Perosns Operational in Doda District

- (1) Mohammad Iqbal Kirai Paak R/O Kishtwar
Occupation/Govt. Employee
- (2) Ghulam Hassan Bhat S/O Ab. Aziz Bhat
R/O Kishtwar (Student)
- (3) Abdul Gani SheikhR/O R/O Kishtwar
R/O Kishtwar (Elective Student)
- (4) Mohamad Iqbal Najar S/O Mohammad Akber Najar
Occupation/ Carpenter R/O Kishtwar
- (5) Mohammad Iqbal Zarger S/O Baber Joo Zarger
Student / 12th Class R/O Kishtwar
- (5) Abdul Hafiz Khatib S/O Mohammad Akram Khatib
R/OBaderwah Occupation/ Govt.
Employee
- (7) Sadiq Hussain Najar S/O Ghulam Mohammad Najar
R/O Baderwah Student/ PUC
- (8) Abdul Qayum Ganai S/O Mohammad Rajab Ganai
R/O Biderwah Student / Final TDC
- (9) Nazir Ahmad Tak S/O Late Ahad Joo Tak R/O
Baderwah Occupation/NA
- (10) Shabir Ahmnad Qazi S/o Mohammad Assad Ullah
R/O Baderwah Student/ TDC
- (11) Talib Hussain Sofi S/O Abdul Gani Sofi R/O Baderwah
Student / Matirc
- (12) Masood Ahmad Ganai S/O Mohammad Ibrahim
Ganai R/O Baderwah Occupation/Shopkeeper
- (14) Mohammad Ayaz Sheikh S/O Mohammad Jamil
Sheikh R/O Baderwah
Occupation/ Shopkeeper
- (15) Abdul Hai Ganai (Baderwahi) S/O Master Abdul
Karim R/O Baderwah Occupation / Govt.
Employees
- 16) Ghulam Hassan Bhat S/O Ghulam Mohammad Bhat

R/OKishtwar Student/ B.Sc

(16) Mohammad Iqbal Agoo R/O Kishtwar
Occupation/Contractor

(17) Mohammad Iqbal Beigh R/O Kishtwar
Student /LLB

(18) Jaffer Baderwahi R/O Kishtwar
Student/TDC

(19) Ashger Hussain R/O Baderwah
Occupation/ N.A

(20) Mohammad Iqbal Sheikh R/O Kishtwar
Occupation /N.A

(Source: Police Case History)

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Al' Fatah was the second generation guerilla organisation , committed armed robbery of Pulwama treasury successfully on Thursday, 2nd April, 1970, to upkeep the resistance struggle of Kashmir, challenging Indian rule— stirred whole administration of Jammu and Kashmir, even higher echelons of Power. The guerilla fighting based on the paradigm that urban warfare is necessary to confront the writ of the State—with larger man power and strength of weaponry was itself a daring act, this armed group was an organization working with forward cause and commitment. No doubt primitive armed groups surged in Kashmir at the same time when Al' Fatah was in operation but it was the first armed resistance group with ulterior motives of wishing liberation from Indian rule by exigency.

Surendra Nath , a top intelligence officer, who later compiled the official reports on Al' Fatah, described the organization's handling of Pulwama dacoity with considerable respect:—

“It is highly significant that the large amount which had been procured in this dacoity was utilized entirely for the purposes of underground organization and it was not distributed among the members of the gang as personal booty . This reveals a sense of duty on the part of the members of the organization in their cause. It also presents a reason why it was not possible to get any clue regarding this crime. Normally, criminals' fallout on the distribution of the loot or due to other jealousies or rivalries. In the present case, Zehgeer had kept a fairly strict control and the members were satisfied in having taken part in the operation that furthered the cause of their organization. ”

Even, the then Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi also visited Barsoo, the Headquarter of Al' Fatah— known for the probity, intrepidity and sublimity as an organization— not in terms of individuals.

One portion of swaged money was used to house a rented building at Buchwara area of Srinagar , to serve as a kind of political headquarter for Young Men's League (Students Federation). The major portion of funds were used to procure a land and building at Barsoo, Pulwama to act as a headquarter for guerilla organisation. And another portion of funds were being utilized for purchasing a camera , a tape recorder , an overhead projector for viewing microfilms and a type writer .

It is pertinent to mention that Al' Fatah was not the name of this group but its preamble mentioned that Al' Fatah like armed struggle , several proposals were put forth to give it a proper name and was popularized as Al' Fatah by Intelligence agencies . This armed group was the umbrella organization to cleavage between Pro-India , Pro-Pakistan and pro-Kashmir leadership. People's Revolutionary Front and then Peoples League emerged after its disbanding. The confidence reposed by Al' Fatah members that if only five percent of the people support their ideology will yield maximum results talks louder than any other form of communiqué towards the dedication of these youth for addressing Kashmir.

But Al' Fatah got exposed much before it could emerge as a full grown multifaceted organization to win public support and get strengthened at political level, otherwise it was the only guerilla organization at that time corresponding to NLF— started three years earlier . Solely administered by efficient guerrillero, Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer ,

converted it into a group whose existence was felt beyond—not that of the street gang or urban gang—but a collection of youth with complete knowhow of guerilla warfare, to act as a pressure group not only for pro-India politician [Kashmiri] but also make India to fulfill her promise of impartial plebiscite—regarding fate of Kashmir.

Al' Fatah was the guerilla organization which needs to be studied in detail because it has a lesson for political leadership of Kashmir about approaching the tangled issue [Kashmir]. While studying Kashmir guerilla history it is incomplete without the mention of Al' Fatah under the

charismatic leadership of Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer—a commander par excellence—with great sense for account of politics, social and economic conditions , who changed the course of Kashmir history.

However Al' Fatah lacked diplomatic initiative to make its presence felt in different parts of the world , because of the fact that it's all operations were home-grown and this armed resistance organization was in its initial stage.

Presently, a Masjid [Mosque] stands on the land which was procured by Al' Fatah at Barsoo for establishing full-fledged headquarter, and regular prayers are offered by people there. Importantly, still the surviving people who were the part of Al' Fatah armed struggle respect each other even in present times also, despite being ideologically poles apart, a lesson which they learnt to have remained associated with such a disciplined organization.

Chapter 7

Government Version

Al' Fateh Case History

(Police Report)

Indexed persons accused in Al' Fateh Conspiracy

- (1) Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer
- (2) Farooq Ahmad Bhat
- (3) Muhammad Saleem Gilkar
- (4) Hamid-Ullah Bhat
- (5) Nasir Hussain Mir
- (6) Abdul Hai Baderwahi
- (7) Fazal Haq Qureshi
- (8) Nazir Ahmad Wani
- (9) Kh. Muhammad Shaban Wakil
- (10) Ghulam Muhammad Naikoo
- (11) Bashir Ahmad Bhat
- (12) Muhammad Sayeed Khan
- (13) Gulzar Ahmad Khaki
- (14) Bashir Ahmad Zarger
- (15) Gull Muhammad Mistri(Rafiqi)
- (16) Muhammad Iqbal Beigh
- (17) Ghulam Hassan Shaksaz
- (18) Muhammad Yusuf Mir[Srinagar]
- (19) Peer Muhammad Hussain
- (20) Abdul Rashid Dar

And [Dr. Alla a Medical Officer at Drass was also arrested but was released shortly because of having no evidence in the Pulwama and Hazratbal robbery cases. Narrated by Sajad] Not in the list

Absconding accused (locals)

- (1) Saleem Jahangir Khan (Bagh-e-Mehtab)
- (2) Abdul Rahim Khan (Tral)
- (3) Muhammad Iqbal Hashia (Baderwah)

Absconding accused of Pakistan

- (1) Brig. Asgher
- (2) Col. Alvi
- (3) Col. Bashir
- (4) Maj. Habib-Ullah
- (5) Kaiser Qureshi
- (6) Maj. Tufail
- (7) Zafar Iqbal Rathore, Dy. Director, Pakistan Intelligence Bureau, First Secretary High Commission of Pakistan New Delhi.

Offenses: U/S: 395, 392, 379, 170, 120 B, 109RPC, 3 Enemy agents ordinance 2/3 Egress and internal movement (Control) or lenience 3/25 Indian Arms Act. And 28/32 security rules.

Case FIR No. 114/70 of police station Shergarhi, 39/70 Police Station Pulwama, 1/71 of Police Station Saddar, Srinagar, Sir,

Pakistan has been attempting to annex the territory of state of Jammu and Kashmir forcibly by various methods, such as subversion, sabotage, espionage etc. since 1947. At times there has been intensive activity resulting in acts of bomb explosions, assassination attempts etc. apart from this Pakistan has at several occasions committed naked aggression against the state. Systematic campaigning has been wanted by country to organize subversion within this state and create conditions of instability and disorder. These attempts continued even after the Indo-Pak conflict of 1965 and the signing of Tashkent Declaration.

While as somewhat common pattern can be seen in the earlier Pakistan attempts, a new approach was adopted by them in setting of Al' Fatah an underground organization in Kashmir. Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, who was indulging in various subversive activities in the valley, had developed contacts with certain Pakistani authorities.

In December, 1966 Zehgeer received instruction to the effect that some sensational acts of violence should be committed in Kashmir, so as to create disorderly conditions at the time of general elections which were due to be held in 1967. Accordingly Zehgeer along with Nazir Ahmad Wani and Fazal-ul-Haq Qureshi conspired with some others to murder the sentry on Nawakadal Bridge and snatch his rifle, this plan was carefully worked out and on the night of 3rd February, 1967, the sentry at Nawakadal Bridge was assaulted with daggers and after inflicting injuries on his chest snatched away his 303 Rifle loaded with 5 rounds. The sentry latter on succumbed to his injuries and passed away. A case FIR No. 21/67 was registered at police station M.R. Gunj U/S 302 RPC and 392 RPC. The case has since been challaned. Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, Nazir Ahmad Wani and Fazal – Ul – Haq Qureshi are the absconding accused in the trial of the case, which is sub-judice.

After the commission of this offence Nazir Ahmad Wani accompanied by another person crossed the ceasefire line via Bandipora into POK/Pak in September; 1967. Where they were imparted training in handling of weapons like rifles, revolvers and grenades. They were also taught about espionage. Amongst others the following Pak officers came into contact with them in this connection.

1. Brigadier Asgar
2. Maj. Habib Ullah
3. Maj. Kaiser Qureshi
4. Maj. Tufail

Nazir Ahmad Wani returned in November, 1967 via Sialkot, Ramgarh Border. One of the major instructions given to Nazir Ahmad in Pakistan was to recruit more members from among

the Kashmir youth and send them across for training.

Accordingly on his return he recruited a number of younger received instructions. Later on sent to Pakistan, where they were trained in handling of weapons, unarmed combat and lectures on espionage. These persons crossed the Ramgarh border without any authority.

In 1967 Zehgeer was detained under Defence of India Rules and was released in April, 1968 and immediately thereafter he contacted his other associates. In July 1968 accompanied by Nazir Ahmad Wani, he paid a visit to Pakistan. They crossed the border at Ramgarh unauthorizedly. Besides meeting the aforesaid army officers, the two accused met an important man of Pakistan Intelligence Bureau namely Zafar Iqbal Rathore. This officer imparted training to them with an object of establishing an underground guerilla organization in Kashmir. He was the main brain behind the scheme under which Al' Fateh underground organization was formed in J&K State subsequently. After receiving these instructions Zehgeer and Nazir Ahmad returned to Kashmir from the same route in violations of law.

As a result as per the instructions received from Pakistan authorities, Nazir Ahmad Wani and Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer Planned to commit sacrilege at certain shrines such as Makhdoom Sahib and Khanqa-i-Mu-Alla. They could not succeed because some people were awake at the aforesaid Shrines It was again at the instance of these two persons that a number of youth committed a sensational dacoity in Islamia College for the purpose of obtaining Rifles from NCC Armoury. This case was also later on challenged to a court of law.

By this time Zehgeer, Nazir Ahmad and Fazal-ul-Haq Qureshi had gone underground. Nazir Ahmad also went to Pak High commission at Delhi in November 1968 and made a report regarding the arrest of various members of the gang.

Zehgeer and Fazal – Ul – Haq Qureshi again went to Pakistan via Ramgarh border. They stayed there from November, 1968 to January 1969. During this period they were given intensive training regarding the plan of operations for creation of an underground guerilla organization and entirely new blue-print of operations was provided to them. They agreed to execute the same in Kashmir to the utmost satisfaction of Pakistani authorities. The details provided by Pakistan authorities particularly Zaffar Iqbal Rathore were converted by Zehgeer into a detailed plan, which was subsequently written by him personally. This written plan forms the part of the record of this case. After Zehgeer

returned, he intensified the recruitment of party members, which was named as Al' Fatah.

A number of young men were recruited and indoctrinated by Zehgeer exactly on the lines given in the blue – print of the plan. In nutshell all the members of this organization, at the instance of Pakistan authorities agreed and planned to weaken the Government Politically, Economically and Militarily with an object of assisting Pakistan in annexing the state by force also provides that the organization will have two wings, a political wing and an army wing. The army wing which would be underground will have the task of organizing[planning] ambushes, kidnapping of VIPs' collection of intelligence pertaining to the army movements and installations etc. The political wing would have the task of providing the cover and propagating the ideology of the organization amongst the youth. The Young Men's League, Students Federation was the political wing of Al' Fateh which was organized by Abdul Rashid Dar of Anantnag and Mohd Yusuf Mir of Verinag, Who were high ranking members of the underground apparatus?

In the month of May, 1969 Zehgeer, Fazal-ul-Haq and Nazir Ahmad felt the necessity of visiting Pakistan again in order to discuss their further plans. During this visit they met Brigadier Asgar, Colonel Alvi. Major Tufail, and Zaffar Iqbal Rathore and during this visit also they were given intensive training in handling of arms and explosives. They were also taught the technique of making country made bombs. The working techniques on the lines mentioned in the blue print were also discussed with Pak authorities. They were taught the use of codes and ciphers in order to put through the plan. In July, 1969 the three accused persons returned through Ramgarh route. During this visit their guide was Charag Din @Siraj Din @Chacha of Sailkot.

The phase of recruitment and training continued according to plan until the end of 1969. During this period some of the members were given training in guerilla tactics in the Hak Khal forest in Beroo Tehsil by notorious Pak agent namely Saleem Jahangir. Zehgeer and Nazir Ahmad Wani also participated in imparting the training to these members Jehangeer Khan had joined this organization at the instance of Zehgeer and Fazal-ul-Haq Qurashi to whom he was introduced during his detention in Srinagar jail. Zehgeer after collecting vital information about army movements and dispositions used to condense it into a micro-film, so that the same is conveniently passed on to Pak authorities without fear and detection. For this purpose he enlisted the support of Ab. Rasheed Shawal [Shawl] resident of Batamaloo, Proprietor of Shawal [Shawl] Studios, opposite Neelam Cinema, Srinagar besides providing facilities for developing and printing microfilms. The studio became a contact point for certain members of the organization. By the end of 1969 the organizational structure of Al' Fatah had been built in above described manner. A great deal of espionage had been organized and the intelligence thus collected was available with Zehgeer. Accordingly in January 1970 Zehgeer went to Pakistan and accompanied by two members of his organization namely Bashir Ahmad Zargar and Gulzar Ahmad Khaki. They crossed the border, unauthorizedly at Ramgarh. They met Zaffar Iqbal Rathore and Maj. Tufail in Pakistan, where Zehgeer passed on the espionage material collected by him and recorded on microfilm to Pakistani authorities. During the discussions Zehgeer was told by Maj. Tufail and Zaffar Iqbal Rathore that they should undertake the operations against the government in Kashmir. They emphasized that this organization should be self-reliant and they should go ahead with attacking government offices, treasuries, banks

etc.because this would give confidence to the members for bigger operations and will also provide them with funds and arms.

Rathore disclosed to Zehgeer that he would get himself posted in the Pak High Commission at Delhi as soon as this underground organization would start their operations. He would then be available near at hand for feature guidance and advise to Zehgeer and others. After spending a fortnight their Zehgeer and his associates returned to state via Ramgrah route in the same illegal manner. The organization was now ready to go into action. They made very careful survey of a number of government offices.

Ultimately, Zehgeer and his associated selected Tehsil Education office, Pulwama for their raid. He picked up following selected members for this operation.

1. Farooq Ahmad Bhat
2. Nisar Hussain Mir
3. Hameed-ullah- Butt.
4. Bashir Ahmad Butt
5. Gh. Hassan Shaksaz
6. Mohd Saleem Gilkar
7. Muhammad. Iqbal Hashia
8. Muhammad Iqbal Beg
9. Muhammad Iqbal Sheikh
10. Muhammad Sayeed Khan
11. Gull Muhammad Mistri

Out of these members actual dacoity was committed by the accused named at S.No. 1 to S.No.8 above, besides Gh. Rasool Zehgeer.

Each one of the members were asked to visit the Tehsil Education Office individually under one pretext or the other, so that to see its location and topography. The task of selection of the vehicle for commission of this crime was assigned to Farooq Ahmad Bhatt, who was already a prominent member of the underground organization. During the day time on 1st April, 1970 a close watch was maintained on movements of the cashier and it was ascertained that he had drawn Rs.91,000 from the treasury at Pulwama. At the disbursement by the casher in the Tehsil Office a member of the gang namely Muhammad Saleem Gilkar managed to remain in the office with a view to keep some idea regarding the amount that would be left in the chest after the disbursement at the end of the day. After the office closed Zehgeer and Saleem proceeded to Srinagar to contact Farooq, who had selected a few vehicles at different places. However after midnight they stole a Jeep from the premises of Badshah Hotel and drew to Anan nag to the house of Ab. Raheem, Horticulture Assistant where from they picked up Nisar Hussain, Bashir Ahmad Butt, Gh. Hassan Shaksaz, Hameed-ullah Butt, Muhammad Iqbal Hashia and Muhammad Iqbal Beg. They had driven the vehicle to Pulwama and went to Tehsil Office. They encountered Chowkidars at the building, who were immediately over powered. Three of the members namely Zehgeer, Muhammad Iqbal Beg and Farooq where armed with the revolvers. The other members had knives and daggers. By showing of these arms, the Chowkidars were over awed and silenced. Some of the members kept watch over the Chowkidars and others into the accountants room on the first floor and removed the cash chest which was brought down. After putting the chest in the Jeep they escaped towards Anan nag Via Koil – Awantipora

Road. On the report of the Chowkidar a case was registered at police station Pulwama under FIR No. 39/70 u/s 395 RPC.

Thereafter they concede the safe under a culvert near village Thajiwara on Bijbehara – Langanbal road.

Zehgeer enlisted the help of Gull Muhammad, a mechanic, who was already a member of this organization. Zehgeer along with the accused persons, Gull Muhammad, Mechanic and Muhammad Sayeed Khan accused broke open the safe. A sum of RS 72743.86 was recovered and kept with himself by Zehgeer. The safe was abandoned under the culvert and implements used for breaking the safe were thrown in river Lidder from over the Langanbal bridge. Thereafter all the accused persons dispersed leaving the jeep at Aishmuqam. This crime created a great sensation because it was the first armed dacoity of its kind in the history of Kashmir, where a government office has been robbed in this manner.

Investigations which were taken up immediately proved futile as a very high degree of secrecy had been observed. The jeep was noticed abandoned at Aishmuqam on 3-4-1970. It was properly guarded till it was formally inspected and seized on 4.4.1970. A number of latent chance fingerprints were found on development on rearview-mirror and two side window glasses of the jeep. These articles were photographed properly in presence of the witnesses on the spot. On further examination some foreign paint was detected in the rear body of the jeep. The foreign paint thus found was collected and seized and sealed on the spot in presence of the witnesses.

The articles on which latent fingerprints were found were forwarded to DIG,CID by SP Anantnag under his letter dated 8-4-1970. Similarly the packet containing the foreign paint found inside the jeep was forwarded to Director Forensic Science Laboratory, Jammu by SP, Anantnag, under his letter dated 8.4.1970. The safe was recovered by the police on 10.4.1970 from under the culvert mentioned above. The sample of the paint from the safe was removed and collected and duly seized and sealed on spot in presence of the witnesses. This sample of the paint was forwarded to the Director Forensic Science Laboratory, Jammu by SP, Anantnag under his letter dated 11.4.70. On the close examination some latent fingerprints were found developed on the drawer of the safe. The drawer and safe were photographed and separately seized. The drawer was sealed in presence of the witnesses on the spot and forwarded to DIG, CID under a letter by SP, Anantnag dated 11.4.70. The DIG,CID forwarded all these articles mentioned above to the fingerprint expert of his department for necessary action. The fingerprint expert got the fingerprints on the aforesaid objects separately photographed through the CID, photographer. The expert compared the fingerprints with the sample slips which were already forwarded by SP, Anantnag.

None of the fingerprints tallied with these on the sample slips except those of Mohan Singh, the complainant [complainant] and the driver of the jeep, the theft case of which was registered at P/S Shergarhi under FIR No.114/70 u/s 397 RPC. Therefore, no further action could be taken on the fingerprints by the expert except preserving the articles as well as the photographs thereof.

In May, 1970 Zehgeer along with Abdul Hai another member of underground organization went to Delhi and visited Pak High Commission. He delivered some espionage material that had been collected and recorded on microfilm and report regarding the Pulwama dacoity case mentioned above. He contacted Mr. Ahmad the 1st

Secretary to whom the above mentioned material was given. He was also told that Rathore has not yet been posted at New Delhi, but that was expected later in the year. His posting in Delhi, however, came about around October 1970.

By the beginning of November, 1970 this underground organization was ready for its next operation. They took on rent the ground floor of a house belonging to one Ghulam Nabi Durani at Kohnekhana near Dalgate. This was rented by Zehgeer under the cover name of Abdul Rehman contractor.

The members used to meet and plan their proposed operations in that house. To start that they planned to raid the State Bank of India [SBI] at Srinagar. The Bank building was carefully surveyed but the project was given up on account of certain difficulties like the presence of heavy police guard and its proximity to police station Kothibagh. They however, felt that these difficulties could be overcome if they had automatic weapons.

For some time thereafter they planned an operation for procuring sten guns. Their plan was to attack the military police personnel who come into the city for duty in restaurants and cinemas. Generally military policemen sit down in the cinema house to see the show. The plan of the underground organization was to attack the military police inside the hall and take away their weapons, so that the use of fire arms would attract the public attention and create coordination,

they decided to attack the military policemen with hammers behind, on their heads. For this purpose they specially purchased two hammers and laid an ambush in different cinemas in early December, 1970, but due to one reason or the other the plan did not succeed and they had to call it off. In the meantime they decided to commit robbery at the Hazratbal Branch of J&K Bank. Nazir picked out the other members for the actual commission of the crime namely Farooq Ahmad,

Nisar Hussain and Abdul Hai. They carefully worked on the plan including the route at the time of robbery. They choose to strike on the pay day because there would be a very large amount in the bank that day. Since 1st January, 1971 was a holiday the pay plan day was 2nd January, 1972. Which was Saturday. The bank closes at 1.P.M at Saturdays and they planned to make the raid between 12 A.M to 1.P.M. In addition to the four persons, who had to commit the raid, they utilized four other persons namely Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, Muhammad Yusuf Mir of Gogjibagh, Ghulam Muhammad Naikoo and Muhammad Shaban Khawaja, who were given different roles. In order to avoid any confrontation with the armed Chowkidars at the bank they decided to masquerade as police officers on the day of the raid i.e. 2nd January, 1971 Zehgeer went to Dalgate and picked out a taxi car, the driver of which was a young man. He boarded the taxi and took it into Batamaloo Bus Stand and then asked the driver to drop him back at the Boulevard. The object of this journey was to test the mechanical reliability of the vehicle as well as the ability of the driver. He left the taxi at a prearranged point on the Boulevard where Farooq and other three members were waiting fully dressed as police officers.

Zehgeer paid the fare and walked away. The taxi was engaged by Farooq and three others. They told the driver that they were going on investigation and asked him to drive towards Nishat Garden. From Nishat Garden they asked him to drive towards Lal Bazar through Dalgate enroute. They talked in a manner so as to give an impression to the driver that they were genuine police officers and were going to arrest some criminals.

Actually they wanted some margin of time for reaching Hazratbal Bank so that they could get all clear signal before proceeding further, this task had been given to Zehgeer. The taxi given to Zehgeer, the driver of it was asked to stop near an orchard on the outskirts of village Sudrebal where they tallied their watches and waited for some time. In the meanwhile another taxi came from the opposite direction and stage two other members of the organization namely Gh. Muhammad Naikoo and Muhammad Shaban were loitering in the vicinity of the bank, so as to help their accomplices in case of need. Ongoing into the manager's room Nazir told the manager that there had been embezzlement in the treasury and all the amounts drawn had to be taken in the possession by the police. The manager wanted to talk head office and inform them. But Nazir Ahmad Wani threatened him with arrest and he and Farooq took out their revolvers and pointed at the manager and the cashier. They had taken care by asking others staff members to go out of the room before speaking to the manager. The manager and the cashier had no alternative but to put all the cash on the counter in a steel trunk along with the vault register. The trunk was locked and the key was kept by the cashier. The trunk with cash was taken out of the bank through the peon under their strict escort.

They took care that the manager and the cashier do not speak to anyone. The trunk was put in the taxi and the cashier and the manager were asked to get into the same. The driver's seat was taken by Farooq, who took the keys from the drivers and told him that he will be delivered the taxi at his stand.

The taxi was driven towards Lal Bazar and stopped near a culvert in the outskirts of village Saderbal. The keys were forcibly taken from cashier. He and the manager were forcibly driven out from the taxi which was driven by them towards Lal Bazar leaving both of them behind. The manager and the cashier came back and narrated their woeful story to the members of the staff. They were told by Muhammad Maqbool one of the clerks of the bank that he identified one of the persons in uniform, who was his class fellow and his name was Farooq and he belonged to a village. The manager informed the head office and lodged a written report at P/P Negin giving a description of the accused persons where circle inspector Sadder was present. A case under FIR No. 1/71 u/s 392 and 170 RPC and 25 Indian Arms Act was registered at police station Sadder. The C I Sadder took up the investigation immediately and visited the spot. The spot inspection revealed some latent fingerprints on the table glass of the manager's Zehgeer was sitting in the front seat in a normal manner, which was an indication to Nazir and others that all is clear for the operation. They proceeded towards Hazratbal. On reaching J& K Bank premises, Nazir, who was dressed as Dy. Superintendent of Police, Farooq who was dressed as inspector and Abdul Hai and Nisar Hussain, who were dressed as sub-inspectors walked into the bank. It may be added that at this table. The glass along with the fingerprints were photographed, seized and sealed with the seal of J& K Bank.

No other clue was found on the spot. The manager who had received a slight injury with the stick of Nazir Ahmad and was also dragged by the taxi was referred to hospital for opinion and treatment along with the cashier, who was also feeling internal pain.

The taxi was abandoned by the accused persons at Narwara in the outskirts of Srinagar at prearranged place. Zehgeer and Muhammad Yusuf Mir were waiting at this place with civilian

clothes which were put on by Nazir and his associates. The Barrette caps were kept in the trunk and whole cash amounting to rupees 97195.76 was taken away by the accused persons. After this they disappeared.

The investigation officer made necessary enquiries from the SP college, where according to Muhammad Maqbool clerk, Farooq Ahmad was studying with him in the year 1967. The SP college authorities informed the investigating officer that the full particulars of the person are:-

Farooq Ahmad Bhat

S/O Abdul Khaliq Bhat

R/O Dudwan Sonawari

Therefore, a manhunt was organized in order to track down Farooq Ahmad accused. While in the bank the circle inspector was informed that the taxi was abandoned at Narwara near electric transformer station. He rushed to the spot and carefully examined the taxi car. He found some latent fingerprints on the rearview mirror of the car, of which he got a photograph taken. The rearview mirror was removed, seized and sealed in the presence of the witnesses on the spot.

From the taxi the trunk of the bank was recovered out of which two Barrette caps and some negligible cash was found. On close examination one hair was found inside one Barrette cap and two hairs were found inside the other. These hairs were separately seized and sealed in presence of witnesses. The taxi was also seized. The investigation continued.

This was a very sensational crime and first of its kind in Kashmir. No bank had ever been robbed in this state. Keeping in view its importance a special staff headed by the undersigned [A.M Watali] was established. A number of persons were interrogated in order to find out any useful clue which could lead to the apprehension of Farooq, the prime accused.

On 11-1-1971 the medical college hostel room in the possession of Farooq Ahmad was searched and amongst other old papers, exercise books, a small note book was also recovered. On one of the pages of this note book seven names were written. Some of the persons amongst were interrogated, and it was revealed that an underground organization namely Al' Fatah, the details of which have been mentioned above has been formed in the state and Farooq is one of its leading members. It was also revealed that one Muhammad Yusuf Mir S/O Abdul Rehman R/O Gogji Bagh Srinagar, a close friend of Farooq Ahmad was a prominent member of this organization. Therefore, Muhammad Yusuf Mir was subjected to thorough interrogation and on 15th January, 1971 he disclosed the existence of underground organization and its headquarters at Barsoo and gave information which led to the finding out of the house as well as the discovery and arrest of some accused persons and recovery of arms and a part of the stolen cash. He gave the details of bank robbery and future stated that it was this gang which was responsible for the commission of dacoity in Pulwama Education Office. It was also disclosed that the members had code names. It was known that the house used by the members of the gang were named on the name of famous Mughal Gardens. The house at Barsoo was named as Shalimar, while as the rented flat at Dalgate was known as Nishat. The house at Barsoo was raided in the morning of 16th January, 1971 by police party including the undersigned [A.M Watali] when the police ordered the inmates of the house to come out, there was firing upon

them from the house. After a short exchange of fire the police was able to enter the house and overpowered the two inmates who were later on identified as Nazir Ahmad Wani and Farooq Ahmad Butt. From their personal search a part of money stolen from the bank was recovered. In addition to this some more stolen money and large quantity of documents, microfilms, explosives, slide-projector, Tape-recorder etc. were recovered from the house as disclosed by Muhammad Yusuf Mir. Nazir Ahmad Wani, and Farooq Ahmad Butt were arrested and subjected to immediate interrogation on the spot. Nazir Ahmad Wani disclosed that some important documents including the agreed plan of the gang and information pertaining to army and some hand grenades were concealed under the ground near the brick wall on southern side of the house. This information led to the recovery of all these items which were seized at the instance of the said Nazir Ahmad Wani.

The two individuals were immediately removed from the spot and a well-planned trap was left behind in the house. This trap functioned extremely well and on 17th January morning Fazal Haq Qureshi walked into the house, where he was arrested by the police. He was interrogated and he disclosed the leader of the gang Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer was concealing himself on the top floor of the house of Wali Muhammad Butt at Shahidganj along with part of the stolen money, some arms and important documents including the list of the members of Al' Fatah gang. Same day plan was made to reach the house at the appropriate time. In the meantime, later in the day Abdul Hai another accused walked into Barsoo house, where he was arrested.

Muhammad Yusuf Mir accused R/O Gogjibagh made the disclosure before the police that he had concealed Rs 70,000 out of the money robbed from the bank in the attic of his house in a blue airbag. A search of the house was conducted in pursuance of the disclosures made by Muhammad Yusuf Mir and the amount was recovered along with a bag and terelyne pant from the place disclosed by him. Later in the day working on the information given by Fazal Haq Qureshi and as a result of the well laid out plan, the house at Shahid Gung was raided. The police party burst in the room occupied by Zehgeer and overpowered him. One loaded revolver was found on his person. From this premises a large amount of important records including a list of the members of Al' Fatah was recovered. In addition to this important records of Young Men's League, Students Federation, the political wing of Al' Fatah were recovered. In addition to this some more arms and ammunition and a portion of the cash robbed from the bank was recovered from the premises. The Cash Vault Register of the bank, some uniform articles and other equipment were also found and recovered from his room.

Out of the cash looted from the bank an amount of Rs91335.00 was recovered in all these raids.

Hazratbal Bank Robbery

- (1) Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer
- (2) Farooq Ahmad Butt
- (3) Nazir Ahmad Wani
- (4) Abdul Hai Baderwahi
- (5) Nisar Hussain Mir
- (6) Gh. Muhammad Naikoo
- (7) Muhammad Shaban Khawaja
- (8) Muhammad Yusuf Mir R/O Gogjibagh

The sample of the fingerprints of the accused persons were obtained and dispatched to DIG. CID, to whom the articles bearing fingerprints were dispatched earlier. The fingerprint expert examined these sample slips and found that some of the prints on the table glass and the rearview mirror tallied with those of the accused persons. He also compared these sample slips with the fingerprints found on the parts of the jeep and drawer of the safe seized in connection with dacoity case of Pulwama. The whole material was forwarded by DIG, CID to director fingerprint Bureau, Phillaur for comparison and opinion, who after comparing the chance prints with the sample slips forwarded his opinion according to which the fingerprints of following accused were found on the articles seized by the police in both the cases:-

Dacoity at Pulwama

- (1) Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer
- (2) Nissar Ahmad
- (3) Muhammad Shaban
- (4) Farooq Ahmad

Hazratbal Robbery Case

- (1) Nazir Ahmad Wani
- (2) Abdul Hai
- (3) Farooq Ahmad

The hair seized from the two Barrette caps were dispatched Director Forensic Science Laboratory Jammu on 25th of January, 1971. After the arrest of the accused persons the sample hair of Abdul Hai, Farooq Ahmad and Nisar Hussain were obtained and sent to Director Forensic Science Laboratory for comparison with the hair found on Barrette caps already dispatched to him.

According to his opinion the hair on one of the Barrette caps was identified to be of Abdul Hai accused regarding the hair on the other Barrette cap, no positive opinion was given.

The paint recovered from the jeep and the sample paint taken from the safe were sent to Director Central Forensic Laboratory, New Delhi by the Director Forensic Science Laboratory J& K Jammu. His opinion has also been received, which is as under:-

“On the basis of spectrographic analysis it has been found that the sample of foreign paint collected from the jeep(Marked Exhibit ‘C’) is similar to the sample of paint removed from the safe (Marked as ‘N’).”

Some of the important documents including the plan for phase wise operations were sent for expert opinion for hand writing to the Director Forensic Science Laboratory Jammu.

He got the documents examined by the experts of Central Forensic Science Laboratory at New Delhi. They have opined that the plan of operation with the heading “ Preamble” and some other andwritten documents were in the hand writing of Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer.

The coded documents were decoded with the help of the key available in the documents.

On further interrogation Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer disclosed that Pakistan had arranged a number of arms for their use which had been received in Kashmir through Saleem Jahangir the notorious Pak Agent, which were lying in the house of Haji Jalal- Din of Charar-i-Sharief and these arms will be available to Zehgeer only after further

instructions from Pakistan. On this information the police immediately registered a case FIR No 4/71 Police Station Budgam under section 25 Indian Arms Act, and recovered the following arms and ammunition from the hollow space in one of the walls of the house of Jalal-Ud Din near the roof at Charar-i-Sharief,

Sten guns 12/ 33 [Not Clear]

Revolvers (38) 13 [Not Clear]

Magazines of Sten guns 24

Ammunition 390

In addition to these arms a 303 rifle was also recovered from the house of Farooq Ahmad accused at Dudwan Sonawari.

From the documentary evidence made available during the investigation of this case and from the disclosures made by several accused persons, which led to the recovery of important relevant material and from other evidence collected it transpired that the accused persons named in the prejudicial acts and the acts of sabotage and other offenses with the intention of creating conditions in the state which would paralyse and undermine the security of the state, so as to facilitate its annexation by Pakistan. Besides the accused has conspired to work for Pakistan in its continued effort and activities, started from 1947 to obtain the same object. Military information regarding the strength, movement and disposition of the army was also collected and even passed on to Pakistani authorities with the object in execution of this conspiracy. The collection of arms at Charar-i-Sharief, the training of the members at Al' Fatah, the commission of the dacoity at Pulwama, the theft of jeep at Budshah Hotel, the bank robbery at Hazratbal, construction of safe house at Barsoo by accused after the land having been procured Benami with the funds provided by Pulwama dacoity collection and possession of prejudicial material and illegal Sojourns of the accused to Pakistan off and on without any passport or permit were amongst others the main acts committed in pursuance of the said conspiracy by the accused persons, agents of Pakistan.

These incidents have been the subject matter of the following cases, registered at different times:-

(1) FIR No 114/70 Police Station Shergari

(2) FIR No 39/70 Police Station Pulwama

(3) FIR No 4/71 Police Station Budgam

(4) FIR No 1/71 Police Station Sadder

The facts stated above on the basis of the material collected during investigation of these cases establish offences under the above mentioned provisions of law against the accused persons.

The accused are in detention and appropriate steps have been taken to produce them before the court.

It is, therefore, prayed that the accused persons may kindly be dealt with in accordance with law.

The list witnesses and the documents are produced herewith. The seized case property is also presented herewith.

Sd/=

(A.M Watali)

Additional Supdt. of Police
Srinagar (Investigating Officer

Chapter 8

Pro-India Political Persons under Al'Fatah Target

Kidnapping was the tool to be used by Al' Fatah for intimidating Pro-India Muslim political leaders of Kashmir. By kidnapping the purpose was not to kill but detain them at Shalimar safe house, Barsoo, Pulwama, where six concentration cells were created to brainwash people having Indian line of thinking vis-à-vis Kashmir. With the motive to discourage Indian political ideology. And to put off the acts of anti-resistance on part of pro-India politicians.

All Pro-Indian politicians in Srinagar were on the hit list of Al' Fatah including top brass. Population of Jammu and Kashmir being mainly rural, therefore to transcend an effective message to the common masses main focus of kidnapping was put on those pro-Indian politicians hailing from rural areas—the policy of fear psychosis, disheartenment to yield very low spirit of enthusiasm towards India—to bang pro-Indian political power in Kashmir. So that any kind of election in Kashmir within the Indian framework be treated as the dejected activity by the naïve people. Non-Muslim political persons in Kashmir were deliberately not kept in the kidnapping list, because the acts of kidnapping should not get painted with any communal colour in and outside Kashmir.

Pro-India political persons and some police officials under target in North Kashmir.

- 1) Ghulam Hassan (Cooperative Bank Secretary)
[Congress Worker/Ambargad, Sopore/age 40]
- 2) Abdul Khaliq Lone (Businessman and
Congress worker) [Sangrama/age 45]
- 3) Khazar Muhammad Dar (Kura)
[Tarzoo, Sopore/age 38]
- 4) Ahmad Ullah Bhat (Section Officer CID, Sopore)
[Nowhatta Sgr/age 35]
- 5) Abdul Majeed Lone (Dy SP, Sopore)
[Wadi Pora Handwara/age 45]
- 6) Ghula Nabi Mircha (M.L.A Sopore)
[Sopore/age 45]
- 7) Abdul Gani Mir {M.L.A Langate(Minister)
[Langate Handwara/age 39]
- 8) Ghulam Rasool Kar (M.L.A Rafiabab)
[Sopore/age 40]
- 9) Ghulam Rasool Wani (S.P. CID
Srinagar) [N.A]
- 10) Mushtaq Ahmad Qadri(C.I.D)
[Zalthan Rafiabab/age N.A]
- 11) Abdul Aziz Hajam (C.I.D)
[Tarzoo, Sopore/age N.A]
- 12) Muhammad Ramzan Dar
[Hygam, Sopore/age 33]

- 13) Sana Ullah Mir
[Ambargad, Sopore/age 33]
- 14) Muhammad Mukhtar Parray
[Hygam, Sopore/age 35]
- 15) Wali Muhammad Bulla (Congress Worker)
[Putkhab, Sopore/age 55]
- 16) Muhammad Sultan
[Putkhab, Sopore/age 30]
- 17) Abdul Rashid Sofi
[Krinkshiva, Pazipora /age 30]
- 18) Ghulam Nabi Bhat
[Tarzoo Sopore/age 55]
- 19) Yaqoob Khanday (Salesman cooperative
Congress Worker) [Hygam, Sopore/age 45]
- 20) Ahmad Dar (Congress Worker)
[Hanjipora, Sopore/age 45]
- 21) Khazar Muhammad Dar
[Hanjipora, Sopore /age N.A]
- (22) Qadir Mir
[Hanjipora, Sopore/age 26]
- (23) Abdul Samad Parray (Congress worker
and Teacher) [Hygam, Sopore/age 40]
- (24) Abdul Rahim Dar (C.I.D)
[Hygam, Sopore/age 35]
- (25) Ghulam Nabi Ontoo (M.P Raja Sabha)
[Sofi Hamam, Sopore/age 58]
- 26) Habib Ullah Lone (Congress Worker)
[Narpora, Sopore/age 35]
- 27) Ghulam Muhammad Bulla (Congress Worker)
Sopore, Jamia Qadim/age N.A]
- (28) Abdul Ahad Shah
[Narpora/age N.A]
- (29) Ghulam Rasool Sofi (Chairman T.A.C
Congress Worker, M.L.C) [Kralteng, Sopore/age N.A]
- (30) Ali Muhammad Reshi (Congress Worker)
[Sabzi Mandi, Sopore/age 40]
- (31) Ali Muhammad Reshi R/O N.A
[Congress Worker/age 40]
- (32) Abdul Rasheed Bhat
[Batengoo, Sopore/age N.A]

Anantnag

- (1) Muhammad Sultan Bangroo/Anantnag
- (2) Ghulam Ahmad Mir/Janglat Mandi Anantnag
- (3) Ghulam Hassan Mir/Janglat Mandi Anantnag
- (4) Muhammad Maqbool Wani/Nazuk Mohalla
Anantnag

- (5) Peer Hussam Ud Din/Damhal Anantnag
- (6) Mufti Muhammad Sayeed/Bijbehara, Anantnag
- (7) Peer Zada Muhammad Sayeed/Damhal, Kokernag
Anantnag
- (8) Muhammad Maqbool Wani/Anantnag
- (9) Ghulam Hassan Naikoo/Rooh, Monghall.,
Anantnag
- (10) Muhammad Yaqoob Bhat/Kulgam
- (11) Abdul Aziz Zarger/Manzgam, D.H Pora Kulgam
- (12) Bashir Ahmad Matoo/Manzgam, D.H Pora
Kulgam
- (13) Sona Ullah Boda/Doorru, Anantnag

Chapter 9

Last Minute Rush

Take I

I joined armed resistance movement ending 1967 by the active persuasion of Nizam. The common psyche of every Kashmiri was to fight subjugation, which was haunting us. Received no weapons training. My task was to motivate other youth for joining and supporting resistance movement against India.

Haji Jalal Ud Din used to manage arms for us, probably it was already left with him during 1965 war. No matter preamble of our armed resistance movement was subscribing struggle just like Al' Fatah of Palestine but as such this was not the name of the organization to us but the modus operandi was similar.

When Safdar was asked, why your armed resistance group resorted to robberies of Pulwama and Hazratbal, he replied that after 1965 little bit ammunition was with some of the Gujjars, when they were contacted, refused to give and put the condition of money. "In January 1970, when Zehgeer Saib visited Pakistan", after returning from Pakistan described the tale but there he was told that they [Pakistan] will support monetarily and give arms training to them in the circumstances, if they will support accession with Pakistan, which was out rightly rejected by him and two of our colleagues came back after few days without any arms training.

A meeting was held earlier to Pulwama robbery, which was presided over by Rehman at Islamabad (Anantnag) late February or beginning of March 1970 and we were told that Pakistan is not going to support us monetarily or imparting training, so we have to make our own arrangements and we may even resort to some robberies, so that we can purchase arms for our **cadre**¹.

Take 2

Zehgeer was the symbol of Al' Fatah, I met him in 1965 at Central Jail Srinagar along with Fazal- Haq Qureshi, Ghulam Qadir **Basmati**², Syed Abdul Haq and Engineer **Abdul Karim**³. It was late January 1970, a day when I was going on a Tanga(chariot) at Rawalpindi to the clinic of Dr. Farooq Haider, I came down, started moving towards a person about I had a faint idea, he suddenly separated from two youth accompanying

¹ Muhammad Saleem Gilkar

² . Who was running a cafeteria at Nawab Bazar, used by pro-freedom groups to discuss Kashmir issue.

³ . Now in USA, Professor by profession.

him, traveling by foot⁴. I was continuously conjecturing about the person, he smilingly said, "Yes, we were in Srinagar Central Jail." Afterwards, we moved to Sadder Bazar Rawalpindi and took Gajar Halwa⁵ as a part of cover, discussed a little bit, then we moved 5 to 6 Kms direct to the residence of Dr. Farooq Haider, where Maqbool Ganie was already present and we held a meeting for almost one hour. Zehgeer said, "Sure, I like your adventure and braveness vis-à-vis Kashmir resistance movement." The officers of FIU at Kotli told me about you and I ensured them that these are sincere boys — they belong to other organization and are fully engaged with the liberation movement⁶. It was late August or beginning of September 1970, I met Zehgeer at Jawaharnagar colony, at the residence of my uncle, Abdul Hamid Khan and convened a meeting for around one and a half hour besides Dr. Farooq and Muhammad Yousuf Mir @Tariq. "Tête-à-tête is the best pattern of guerilla warfare, this is the violation code secrecy," I said, "Fair enough, don't worry," he replied. At that time I was already member of National Liberation Front, which I had joined ten months back⁷. Once his associates came out of the compound, I insisted for a pistol and a hand grenade, he opened the bag, which he used to carry and provided me an old rusty revolver, saying, "Do you need this?" I understood the gravity of the situation⁸.

Take 3

In 1970 Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was living in exile, arrangements for the marriage of his last child Suraya were in full zoom, he applied for the permission to attend the marriage ceremony but was not allowed by Indira Gandhi saying that his presence will worsen the situation in Kashmir. Abdullah rang me up from New Delhi and said to come with the proposed guest list, I went there to see him he enquired about the list and saw 'Azi Mæ`as'[Maternal Aunt) missing, who was our relative but in poor conditions, and put her name in the guest list, directed me to arrange tent for female guests in the courtyard on the day of marriage— for Baraat[wedding party] in the hall of his house at 10, M.A Road with the seating arrangement in such a way that his frontal posture facing west, then I asked Abdullah for leave, suddenly tears started rolling down from his tears, it was a movement of emotion for me and I out rightly affirmed a self-commitment 'not to visit New Delhi again, neither to hold Indian Passport nor I am Indian citizen, simply a Kashmiri Muslim', which I shared with Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer⁹ in late 1970 and at that time I was not knowing that he [Zehgeer] was a militant¹⁰.

⁴. Gulzar Ahmad Khaki and Bashir Ahmad Zarger of Islamabad (Anantnag) not known to Azam Inqilabi.

⁵. Sweet dish made from carrots.

⁶. Muhammad Azam Inqilabi, Payam-e-Hurriyat (Urdu), Publisher: Publicity Wing, Jammu Kashmir Mahaz-e-Azadi, Srinagar, 2006, p 38

⁷. Source: Muhammad Azam Inqilabi, Patron Jammu Kashmir Mahaz-e- Azadi.

⁸. Muhammad Azam Inqilabi, Payam-e-Hurriyat. Publisher: Publicity Wing, Jammu Kashmir Mahaz-e-Azadi, Srinagar, 2006, p 46 (Urdu).

Take 4

It was ending November 1967 I was heading towards my home Kadapora Achabal, at Achabal Adda Anantnag, in the evening hours a sober looking person wearing a dress made from the night cloth and having a cap on his head, asked me, "Are you going to Achabal." I replied, "Yes!" He said, "I too am going to Achabal, let's take the Tanga[cart], waiting for us." Then the Tanga driver whipped on slightly to the wooden shocker of cart and horse started pulling the Tanga.

Stranger, "What are you doing?" I am an official in horticulture department 'Hussain' Hussain, "What are you doing?" I am mate to a contractor of Geegund Achabal and my name is Rehman, he owes me some money.

I sharply replied, "Who?" He mentioned a name which I was not knowing, I thought might be some one! During discourse we reached to Thajwara. Tangawala demanded perquisite money I

resisted, Rehman politely said, "Why you are angry, you can ask this in suave way." 'Yes' I replied!

His behaviour brought sudden change in my attitude!

It was almost a month or so when I saw a person in Anantnag Tehsil office dressed decently, so charming that some of the officials around him were not so dashing. When he started leaving I said, "Pardon, I have seen you before and you're looking cute!" He replied: "Thank you, where!" Probably you are Rehman?" He said, "Yes!"

Then he left and told me, "I will try to come to your office."

It was almost March 1968, a sudden surprise for me, when Rehman entered my chamber and said that I have promised you, so I am here. Discussing about the wellbeing of each other.

Suddenly Rehman said, "What is your view about Kashmir?"

I replied, "We must get our birth right!"

What birth right, "Absolute freedom," I replied.

Then we must resist politically, 'Rehman'

No, 'By arms struggle,' I said.

Why? 'Rehman'

'Because politically means that we are disgruntled, just like the situation of father and son or elder brother or younger brother,' I replied, adding that armed struggle is the only way to address our genuine grievances.

Ok! 'We will meet next time,' Rehman said.

We fixed a rendezvous at Wazir Bagh.

Rehman took oath from me and I joined armed struggle with a code Ali, a movement which was not given a particular name but was just like Al' Fatah of Palestine.

Recounting the days of Al' Fatah, suddenly tears started rolling from Ali's eyes and said that he was arrested on 26th January 1971, when he had gone to show the prescription to Dr. Ali Jan (then a renowned Physicians of Kashmir) as his son was suffering from

⁹ . Note: Sheikh Nazir is General Secretary NC and holds epic card to cast votes and had visited Delhi for the treatment once after 1970.

¹⁰ . Source: Sheikh Nazir Ahmad.

chronic pneumonia, just came out from the shop of horticulture department at Amira Kadal run by government of Jammu and Kashmir, where I was posted, when reached to KMD Adda Lal Chowk Srinagar I was caught by police and taken into custody. I was identified by Moti Lal[name changed] running his business in Amira Kadal locality. My 4-year old son, Shabir, so cute, nice and innocent died later, when news of his death came to me, it was just like a bolt from the blue¹¹.

Take 5

Those were the best times[Late 1968 and beginning 1969], when people used to talk less but work more. He [Rehman, a contractor known to us] belonging to the time, when some Kashmiris were in the transitional stage from work culture to oral words and play with the words. His serene calm nature and dedication to a cause opted by him to change the facial expression of the gloomy people, who were taught to obey and beloved like dumb driven cattle. They were made to indulge in all types of corruption willingly or unwillingly in order to cut, at the very roots of their culture and belief.

He took shelter in our home—a farmer's house—hardly making their both ends meal, remained as paying guest in a room where many scholars, religious reformers and political leaders have visited in which hot debates between Pro-India and Pro-Independent persons, took place. Even some persons involved in some practical activities were staying. He remained there with very close proximity to his associate and subordinate [freedom activist] my younger brother, Muhammad Maqbool Malik. He was here in the garb of a contractor, as sober personality that never during his stay exposed himself but his reality came to fore when his photographs were published in local dailies of Kashmir and abroad.

However, his patience and tolerance remained intact when in the worst of the times—suffered from family and personal losses, but continued to remain wedded with the freedom struggle till to the last breath, to me the debonair and a real strategist with foresighted approach¹².

Take 6

I was a government teacher and Publicity Secretary of Young Men's League, it was Abdul Rashid Dar who introduced me to a person in mid July 1968 in a manner that I along with Abdul Rashid

Dar went to the residence of Dar by Tanga(Chariot) and came back and then I was introduced to Maqbool at Novelty Hotel KMD Adda Islamabad we didn't discuss anything except introduction at that time I was preparing myself for the graduation examination.

Maqbool stayed at my home for a night after ten days gap as a simple guest When I saw GRZ inscribed on his left arm, I said, " Why there is this inscription?" He replied, " It is Gulshan Raza

Zaidi." Which I couldn't digest. Next day we met to G.N Hagroo, who was released from Jail. Then I became accustomed to meet GRZ regularly and he had given me the tips of guerilla warfare (theoretical) then I introduced Bashir Ahmad Zargar, teacher by

¹¹ . Source: Peer Muhammad Hussain

¹² . Master Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Malik.

profession to Maqbool. In January 1970 Maqbool, I and Bashir Ahmad Zargar went to Pakistan via Ramgarh sector of RS Pora to Rawalpindi, the moment we entered the area of Pakistan, Maqbool told to the security men of Pakistan to convey a message to officers that Gaznavi has come, so I came to know that Zehgeer is having a different code name in Pakistan.

Some unimportant questions were asked to us who were irrelevant in Pakistan, like, teacher, what did you teach. No politics or strategy about Kashmir was discussed with us. Of course I and Bashir were not for the arms training to Pakistan but rather for an adventure, treatment with us was good but we were confined to a particular house with constant vigil upon, which was later conveyed by Gaznavi that 'one person was continuously having close watch on us', what we speak and do. After almost a fortnight stay in Pakistan we managed to sneak back safely to Indian side via same route without getting any kind of training or tips about the resistance movement. It seemed that Pakistan did not trust on us, which resorted to carry out two robberies in Kashmir and resulted in the full exposure of our armed resistance movement. But it was not given a particular name barring just like Al` Fatah of Palestine with the demand of our birth right 'Right to Self-determination', although some names proposed were like Fida Karan-e-Kashmir, Alsaika etc. After late 1966 Red Kashmir and their active role in 1967 to sabotage the elections in Kashmir and incident of Nawakadal, arrest of Zehgeer then his release were the key factors for the establishment of our armed resistance struggle. I was arrested on 25th January 1971, the moment I was detained on the very first day I was asked by Superintendent of Police, Mr. Kotroo, Master, "When you had been to Pakistan ?" It shocked me and send shivers down to my spine.

Later in Jail when we were discussing with Zehgeer Sahab, he used to tell that I had asked Pakistan to recognize Kashmir as a country and help the same with other friendly countries and defence pact with Pakistan, which they have **rejected**¹³

Take 7

My experience with both Gulzar and Nissar was a remarkable event when they introduced me to Mr. Zehgeer Sahib grand and impressing personality with higher ideals and ambitions. It was

July 1968 when we met at the residence of Gulzar. The very sight of Mr.G.R. Zehgeer was so captivating and impressive that I was totally carried away by the words of this great patriot. He discussed the patriotism and the conditions of our state as well and its history.

His rhetoric coupled with true sentiments and emotions left an everlasting impression upon my mind for the first time I realised that we have been suppressed and subjugated for ages and even to this date, we live virtually like slaves.

Zehgeer Sb. asked us to join hands and dedicate ourselves to the cause of liberating our motherland from an alien yoke. His words were such that I instantly agreed to dedicate myself to this noble and pious cause. An oath ceremony was held.

Besides clandestine activities we had to prepare patriots, give them lessons regarding recruitment, training and other information "Need to Know" we all jointly and dedicatedly continued on the mission although there was no bossing but still we had all respects and reverences for our elders who put their trust in us. I recall those days as wonderful

¹³ . Source: Master Gulzar Ahmad Khaki.

and full of activities. In degree college 1969 I got in contact with many more patriots like Maqbool Malik, Basheer, Hameedullah, Gh. Hassan, and many more youth who started on this mission the moment they became aware of its repercussions. Compartmentalization was a part of our lesson, we were very strict regarding this compartmentalization and took every precaution in order to make it success and applicable to other youth. We did all what we could, training camps were arranged and many others crossed over to Pakistan and Azad Kashmir for this purpose.

In order to pave a way house for my recruits I constructed a story of a nymph in my house. I plotted it and when in the morning my parents found me sleeping on a chair with my clothing on I told them that a nymph asked me to dress like this, and moreover I told them that she was a regular visitor of my room. And more so she has warned me that there should be no outside interference particularly guests. This created a havoc in my family. In order not to make this news public they decided to keep all this secret within the walls of the house. In this way I succeeded and turned half of my room into a science laboratory directing and preserving all kinds of specimens prescribed in my syllabus.

In this way along with my studies I continued my mission with dedication and zeal. The hardships suffered by me and by other recruits is vividly clear in my mind, how we used to carry clandestine activities during late hours of night, how we used to select further recruits for our sacred mission. I remember an event when I was asked to visit Pahalgam to meet a recruit to strengthen his further recruitment. I reached Pahalgam by bicycle and returned back because I had no fare for the bus. My other patriots suffered the same type of assigned duties which they had to fulfill of their own without any monetary support from the organization.

It was one of those cold winter days when people generally prefer to remain confined within their houses rather than move outside to enjoy what outsiders call winter in Kashmir. In this season evenings are comparatively more cold as compared to days.

The minus temperature causes frost bites and that too when the snow gets frozen all over making it dangerous for passerby to walk over it lest they slip and break their limbs. Even poverty is one of the essential factors that restrains the common masses from enjoying the charming scenes of snow laden maidens and mountains, roads and lanes as well as markets and houses. Besides the Kangri and the Pheran which have virtually made Kashmiris lotus eaters and make it difficult for people to move out once it starts getting dark.

Amidst this storage climate the bus dropped me at a Chowk Islamabad on the evening of 16th Jan 1971 it was virtually a mixture of pleasure and pain to embark in the coldest climate after having experienced for a couple of weeks the hot temperature and pleasant climate of various Indian states and that too among my college inmates and friends who too had accompanied me for the college educational tour. However, there was the zeal and enthusiasm to meet my parents and family members and that too at the young age of twenty when the family itself appears a little cosmos which one loves most and in which one is loved most. I was very enthusiastic to rush towards my residence but the luggage and the chilling breeze of the evening restrained me for the same time as I had to rely entirely upon a coolie to lift my luggage. Coolie in normal circumstances create a problem for the travelers in Kashmir because either their needs are low or they are not proven to hard work as their counter parts in the rest of South

Asia. Even the charges are higher like all the normal labourers in Kashmir. In addition to this the winter season renders it impossible for them to do physical labour in the state as a result of which they prefer to migrate to other states where they earn their bread more comfortably.

Hence it is always a problem to find a coolie during evening hours, particularly during the winter season. However, I was lucky enough to locate one who in a very congenial manner lifted my luggage and I followed his footsteps like a devoted Chela following his Guru. I walked through the same streets and lanes where I had spent my childhood and adolescence— remembered each shop and their shopkeepers as well, the trenches, the ordeals and the ditches underneath the snow. The shops were closed and the dogs frightened with snow or the cold climate where hiding themselves underneath probably they were guarding the shops or functioning like the sentinels in total desolation. They didn't bark even. And to my mind the reason was clear because they could smell a recognized face, or it might have been that they too were rendered benumbed by the chilling cold and were hardly in a position to cry. For a movement I found myself like a traveler in some cold desert where no living entities can be seen except my coolie who either out of curiosity or out of frustration kept asking questions about my journey as well as about the climate of the Indian states which I had traveled.

'Is it really hot there?' he said 'Yes' I answered, the people in those states walk in Kurta Pajama even in this season. Even the coolies work in late night hours.

'How happy must they be, earning a lot of money for their family' said he 'People say Kashmir is paradise but they come as my heart was, I bursted into tears and asked to myself. Was it end ! The end of struggle. I believe in Omnipotent. He will not let us down.

Someone knocked the door, and my thoughts shattered with thumping heart. I opened the door my elder sister stepped in, and asked me for dinner. I feigned saying, I don't want it. But she detected my inward emotions and started. "You look bothered, what is bitting you." I told her, mother's absence pinches me, I wish her presence. She solaced me saying that mother will be here by tomorrow morning, and there is nothing to worry about. She grabbed my wrist, and almost forced me towards the dining room (Kitchen). During dinner father also informed me, that police has picked some students. I enquired the reason of their arrest. "They have been picked in connection with bank robbery." I recalled, that I had read about the said robbery in a local newspaper at Bombay.

I informed father, that had I been on the day of their arrest, I too would have been picked, if only in suspicion. Their faces were strained and consternated, but they all beautifully controlled their expression.

It was now 9.30 P.M, I told father that I had got some work outside and I will be back within half

and hour time. Father refused saying, that it was too late, and more so journey was tiresome, better to have some rest. These were irrevocable facts, I obeyed and went into my sleeping room.

As I stepped in, I locked the door behind. Destroyed the incriminating material [for police], regarding my organization. I had a lot in my mind. Different thoughts came and passed. What

shall I do? This was a striking problem. Finally overpowered by sleep, I lost in nothingness, amidst that I will do this I will do that.

In a minute or so I was in a heavy dreamless sleep.

Somebody was knocking at the door. I got up, watch indicated 3.30AM. Serious apprehensions of police haunted my mind. "Open the door," a tender voice struck my ears.

here in summers, in winter it is worse than hell' murmurs coolie.

Then the poor man narrated his sordid tale of hardships and miseries which he had to face during winter. His needs, like an average Kashmiri were great but his means very meagre. Hence in the cold climate he was roaming on the roadside to find some traveler who would ask him to lift his luggage and pay him some money. It alone would have enabled him to show his face to his wife and children in the evening. He spellbound me by his sad narration and I hardly realized that I was now in my own locality or Mohalla. I was almost awakened from a long and deep slumber when one of my neighbour Gulshan stood in front of me saying Assamlam-u-Alikum, I answered his Salam and embraced him warmly, the moment we hugged each other he said, "Gulzar and Nissar have been arrested" I was a bit shocked and even unnerved but deliberately tried to hide my colleagues with whome I had spent a long time sharing mutually our joys and sorrows along with Saleem, Basheer and many others¹⁴.

Really, I was astonished and disturbed about the arrest of my colleagues. Thousands of questions aroused in my mind. Bleeding "Oh aunt," I recognized.

I at once jumped out of bed, and as I opened the door, I noted the sign of consternation, fear quite visible from countenance.

"Police is waiting in the compound, they are searching for you," she let everything out in one breath.

I kept mum..... later with a rash of boldness I stepped down the upstairs and in the ground floor where father was waiting. The door was open, I found some shades in darkness. I

asked father the reason of presence of police. He remained silent.

I approached the police, they were four in number, two in uniform and rest in civil dress.

"What is the matter," I asked to one of them.

"Please accompany us up to police station, deputy superintendent of police wants to see you," one said in much milder tone.

"Why" I asked.

"Nothing special, you may have to identify some students," he said, speaking slowly.

"And why Dy. SP selected only me for identification as you have put it just now," I snarled.

They were perplexed. I went forward to close the door, when I heard them talking with my father.

"See Haji Shaeb, we are responsible for your son, and he will be back within fifteen minutes," they perjured it.

I was quite aware of the situation I turned to them sharply.

"Please come in the morning, you will find me here," saying, so I turned away.

"Where are you off to" father voiced. I stopped, looked towards him helplessly. Don't be obstinate, they have given a word to get back within hours' time."

¹⁴ . Narrated by Muhammad Sayeed Khan.

I got rashed again on the innocence of father and his honest nature, and shouted to the police.

“ Alright officer, show me warrant I am ready.” They just looked like frantic, they whispered to one another and startled.

“Why a warrant,there is no charge against you, warrant is issued to criminals. We respect you all, your good character is before us.”

One police officer said speaking slowly and deliberately as if to give him time to think.

“Whether there is any charge against me or not, please show me warrant that is all, and if you don’t possess it, then please go and get the same.” I replied.

They again requested my father to ask me to accompany them.

So there came one more order from father, that I should accompany them.

Father was unaware of the aspiration of new emerging generation to which I belong. The generation which sought to see honour, status and restoration of or human rights for our down trodden brethren. The whole theme of this episode was my action and participation in freedom struggle of my state. To strive to gain the rightful place for my state. This was the basic reason as I could guess for my being called to police station. My father in his innocence and his honest nature took their word to be true, and asked me to accompany them.

I had before my eyes a long struggle, and a protracted period of torture, indignation, miseries, enslavement. I knew, a word of truth will cost me years or life. But father’s command was supreme.

I left burning with thoughts of mother what an irony of fate.....

I have come after a long journey, I knew what mother will have to suffer. I felt the tears gushing out of her eyes. But nothing changes the course of fate.....

Within five minutes I was in the compound of police station.

Proper security measures where arranged. A Sub-Inspector told me, “ If you will wait few minutes, I will tell Deputy Superintendent of Police, that you have arrived.”

“Dy.SP sahib will see you now.” And we walked across the lane and Sub Inspector lifted the curtain of the office door. “Mr.

Sayeed,” ‘Sir’

Dy.SP was smoking. He has cigarette between his lips, and there were papers strewn over the table. A table lamp made a pool of light around him.

“Come in Mr. Sayeed” He stood up as I stepped in. “Please pull up a chair and be comfortable” I pulled up a chair near him and sat down. He ordered for tea. I looked up and asked. “ What is the matter” He went immediately to me, and enquired about some of my friends who were already arrested and I knew not why ? I nodded my head in negation.

I was kept in another room where I found a man who was a mechanic I learned his name and occupation later. I was provided with a bed, unwillingly I got into it, to be safe from chilling cold.

At about 5.30AM, father came along with Farooq and Ashraf(my younger brothers) I told father not to worry for anything. And gave consolation to brothers. Their last looks were miserly pitiful.

Their eyes were full of tears. I patted them. I was shocked to find their bursting emotions. I asked them to be cheerful and keep others so. Mothers thought almost

pinched me, but I consoled myself. They finally left providing a blanket, warm clothing and (Kangri) firepot, to fight the cruel and piercing cold.

Stress and strain left me a bit restrained with a wave of smothering pain, shivering my body. Exhausted I dropped myself on bed full of disturbing thoughts.

Only minutes later I along with said mistri were taken to police lines Khanabal in a jeep. And five past nine I was standing before the Superintendent of Police, getting treatment from pair of black eyes.

He started at me for may be ten seconds before he got up thrust out his hand “ You Mr. Sayeed.” He demanded in a voice you could hear in the outer office without having your ear to the key hole. I said I was M.Sayeed.

“Please pull up a chair,” he said. I pulled up a chair and sat down. He opened a file on his desk and tapped the contents with a thick finger. He asked about some of my friends who were already arrested.

“ I don’t know them,” returned I. The second question he put was that whome I was accompanying to the owner of a poultry holder at Bejbehara. My hear skipped a beat, I said there was nobody. He cried, blinking like an owl in the sudden glare. “Stop it” rapping the table with his bony knuckles. “Who would believe such an answer, you are an enemy agent, spy, skyjacker ! Aren’t you? Come out with truth or I will bring you before interrogation.

“ You are wrong, and of course mistaken Mr. SP sahib,” I became furious. “Neither I am enemy agent nor a spy, don’t you know I have just returned from a long journey.” What I have done? When I was not here from last twenty days and listen, I continued. “I wouldn’t dream of forgetting,” I snarled.

In the face of my stiff reiteration, he blushed and ordered me to be hand cuffed, and to be put in a cell.

At about 10AM, the same day, one of my friend was brought.

I felt quite astonished and surprised to see him. At about 10PM, the same day, I along with others were escorted to Srinagar. We reached the destination handcuffed, eyes blindfolded. I learned later its name was (Vazir Villa) the interrogation centre(But better to call it slaughter house) Any how..... I was taken to office where my name and other particulars were recorded. After a close security “handcuffed, eyes blinded” I was led to a dark cell. As I stepped in, my eyes were unfolded. I was surprised to see a raw of boys; some trying to sleep, others dosing off, fear and consternation quite evident from their faces. Two alert armed guards in attention on hinges of door. A corner was allotted to me. I spread two blankets, which had been already provided to me. I laid down on this “luxurious” fighting the blazing and pinching cold. I was suffering from pyrexia (high fever) which added to the state of coldness. Could I sustain it all was the first thought which crept in my mind. But man as toughest it is; prevailed over me, and in turbulent storming thoughts I slept ;my problems and fears sat at the foot of the bed, waiting to greet me when I woke.....

When I woke next morning I felt to some extent relaxed though indeed my head still rang like a cracked bell. The room was both cold and stuffy. I found two more of my friends. This was just a strong blow, a chilling pain prevailed on me.

Tea was served I hardly could sip as it just tasted like a muddy warm water. During the day none came for interrogation. Next day my interrogation started which lasted till 5th Feb. 1971.

Useless to narrate are the sufferings, torture and treatment which was meted out to me and others¹⁵.

On 5th Feb. I was escorted to Bagh-e- Mehtab interrogation centre under heavy armed guard, handcuffed, eyes blinded, same to other colleagues. We were kept locked in different cells for a period of "Six months only". During this whole period we were subjected to intensive and inhuman tortures. All the day we were handcuffed. The days glided before CIB and CID interrogators.

Newspapers, periodicals almost became an utopian thought for us. We were not allowed to meet our home people, neither were we allowed to take bath. Surprisingly enough, lice were the only benefactors of time. They enjoyed the crudities of our being lavishly, an innovative idea leaped the mind of one of our colleague Nissar Hussain and we started to make lice to run for the races.

Similarly our boss Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer invented an innovative chess board drawn on floor by charcoal and its points made from mud, which was the only source to extravaganza inside, the concentration camp¹⁶.

After three months we were allowed to open a part of our only window during the day for few hours. To do away with this we were left with nothing, but to go on hunger strike, our only way of protest. Hunger strike bore fruits, but miserably less than expectations. The only thing which we got out of this self-starvation was that we could meet our home people after three months.

Those days of Bagh-e-Mehtab are of such importance that every single moment is vividly clear in my eyes. But as it is said, time is transitory flow. It changed in its wake; it followed us to our new sojourn.

The protracted period of distress and anguish came to end on 8th July, 1971. When we suddenly woke up and were hurried to pack up our succinct things, submitted to the unforeseen developments and came out of our cells.

In darkness of small hours of morning I found three special police buses waiting in compound, packed with highly armed guard. We were called out of cells handcuffed, and packed in buses. After a strict check and scrutiny, the buses left the premises of our sojourn. Gay-folly we looked towards each other, traces of gloom and disappointment could not have any place on faces of our cheerful group. Apt we were not told about our destination.

Everything was a closely guarded secret. I was sandwiched by two armed guards who flanked me on a seat. All of us were placed in same position. Our buses rushed to an unknown destination.

Yet by the position we were placed in, and in spite of this entire affair gave clearly open hint that we are departing our heaven valley.

The eternal green paddy fields, clear waters of Dal, the scented fields of saffron and snow clad majestic mountains.

Within two hours we reached the gateway of flowery valley.

¹⁵ . ibid.

¹⁶ . ibid.

We crossed the underway the long Tunnel, and headed to Jammu. At Banihal we were served with a cup of tea, while in buses handcuffed. By now we were well accustomed with these handcuffs. It did trouble us no more. Thus traveling in this state, we reached Jammu at about three O' clock. Once more going through hazards of close and strict securitizing, we set our feet in main premises of Jammu jail.

The sun had lost its piercing charm, very hot though still it was, clear hint it gave to our coming sufferings. We were led to the inner part of jail and confined in a small apartment.

Our new apartment consisted of two small rooms, a kitchen with adjoining urinal and a small compound surrounded by high walls peaked by barbed wire.

Modestly we were supplied with requirement and utensils, the only luxury we were awarded to enjoy. And two convicts, who were allotted us to cook our meals and attend to our daily needs. We were confined to our small compound, no relaxation was given to us with regard to inside jail movement. Nobody was allowed to talk to us or meet, except the two attendants. The jail authorities hardly visited us.

Thus the alpha of miseries which had started the day of my arrest was in the process of omega, crushing us all in this evolution process. we were not only refused the basic amenities of daily modern life. Newspapers, periodicals and radio was made an alien thing to us. We repeatedly demanded, but all our demands fell on flat ears. In such awkward situation we were put, and were left with no resort, but to protest and get our demands fulfilled. Jointly we pondered over the matter, and finally decided to concur to a hunger strike. This decision was to be carried out as final means to achieve the basic amenities.

It was fine day in last week of August, 28th that we called in jail authorities, and made to know them about our decision. They requested us to keep our decision in abeyance for several days.

But we had waited enough, and were certain that nothing would be done on mere requests and persuasion. We stopped all the rations to be brought inside our apartment. We threw out our

cooking utensils, we framed a chart so as to set our daily routine.

We knew we may have to suffer a long period of miseries. There was only one thing which rescued us, and it was rightfulness of our cause, and determination to achieve it. Though a little cause it was, but then, how does it matter. Righteousness can incorporate in even a single step—magnitudes never increase, quality of course, preference rule the success. But we were just striving for a top priority task.

Denial of these due amenities made us crippled and sent us back to the world of 14th century. Thus started on hunger strike with an unceremonious end, there was no public to rally round us, to see our demands. Even the intransigent heavy stoned walls caught our voices up. Nobody outside could know what would be happening. This hunger strike and in its wake to get out rightful demands fulfilled, had become a question of prestige and upholding of a principle for us. Nobody, by whatever the means employed could force us to change our mind and compel us to forsake our path. We suffered a lot in these fateful eight days, but not morally. Our morale with the passage of every minute was boosting up by an unknown thrust.

By the blessings and favour of Omnipotent, we remained content and moved ahead calmly, facing all discommodities cheerfully. The daily routine of our programme viz prayers, games, discussions except eating was exercised by us as usual.

On the 5th day of our self-starvation a board of doctors visited us all and asked two of our colleagues to negotiate for resolving the situation. Two of our companions went to talk for the same, but unfortunately instead of fruitful results they were separated from us, this separation was a very cruel act to suppress us and force us to abandon our protest but instead of bowing to this cruel fate, we became more and more firm, in our stand. We demanded that till our colleagues are not returned to us, we will not talk to anybody. And more so that the protest of hunger strike is not a last resort at all, we may act in some other serious ways. On our threatening they apprehended our committing suicide by electrification as a part of pressure tactics, only to float rumours rather a bogus bradawl. They disconnected the electric lines of our apartments. Next morning on 3rd September, jail authorities and some other officials came to us to abandon the hunger strike, but we told them that we cannot talk on this affair till our colleagues are with us. Furthermore, we threw our water pots out to get them know that in this stage we will not even take water. Jail superintendent told us that our colleagues have broken down the strike, so we should also do the same. We demanded that it is our joint decision till they won't tell us on our faces then we will agree to it. He assured us that government has agreed to all our demands except jail movement and furthermore that radio, newspapers and other demands including defence has also been arranged. At this stage we told jail authorities to wait for our word which will be conveyed to them after two hours.

After the superintendent left, we held a meeting and pondered over the pros and cons, and also analyzed our action and its repercussions. We agreed on breaking the fast and send two of our colleagues to convey it to authorities, subject our separated colleagues will be allowed to meet us. Superintendent of jail welcomed our decision and assured us that after we break the fast, our colleagues will be brought to us. Thus ended our weeklong fast, resulting in providing us some basic amenities except internal jail movement. We remained contend for a while and put up the matter for the court to be settled, which was already taken up by our counsel, since to the day of our arrest.

Afterwards our colleagues were brought back but instead of keeping them with us, were lodged in an adjoining barrack, were we could talk to them but not freely.

Hence in this way time elapsed, till we heard news of being produced before the court of law. Though after a much delay, but still we welcomed it and took it happily¹⁷ .

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¹⁷ . ibid.

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